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MUSIC FROM THE TANG COURT

Transcribed from the original,
unpublished, Sino-Japanese manuscripts,
together with a survey of relevant historical
sources (both Chinese and Japanese), and
with editorial comments

7-19-83 S

by
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In memory of Arthur F. Wright
friend & champion

PREFACE

The possibility of the enterprise that begins with publication of this first fascicle has been in mind for more than twenty years. The pupils who with me first explored the earliest known manuscript notations of the 'Tang Music' repertory of the Japanese Court — including documents written before the Tang Dynasty had reached its close — are now dispersed to other continents, and the constant interchange and discussion of ideas (in what atmosphere of heady euphoria!), habitual when we constituted a 'Tang Music Project', working together in Cambridge and in Jesus College, are no longer possible. For this reason, it has seemed proper that I myself, making use of their several discoveries and observations — all of which are either now published or shortly to be so, and which in any case are recorded in their doctoral dissertations, deposited in the University Library, Cambridge — should accept responsibility for everything published. It did not seem sensible to attempt the circulation of drafts within the group, in the hope of securing a formulation satisfactory to all in every detail. In any case, I must accept responsibility for the basic premiss: that the notations of the Tang music (*Tō-gaku/Tang-yue* 唐樂) preserve, in essentials, music of the Tang Court; and indeed the enlistment of pupils was consciously undertaken with the intention of bringing to bear on these same notations a concentration of attention such as I myself, already turned sixty, could not hope to maintain at such a level that virtually all major problems would be solved within five years. Providence brought to me a sequence of pupils of the highest quality; and again, consciously and deliberately, I had prepared for their coming by assembling microfilms and photocopies during three months of visiting and working in Japanese libraries. By the time pupils began to arrive, in the Autumn of 1972, we had in Cambridge, and in the Faculty of Oriental Studies, such a collection of copies of the earliest Tōgaku sources as was not to be found, at that time, in any one library in Japan.

It is then with the agreement of all colleagues participating in this enterprise that their names on the title-page are separated from mine by a conjunction, rather than by a comma. Needless to say, all those so named are expected to publish their own views if they find themselves, on any point, in disagreement with my presentation. The order of names is that of recruitment to the project; that of Professor Mitani, who joined us midway, is separated from the rest since, from the outset, she has been a colleague and collaborator rather than a pupil.

Our being recognized as a 'Tang Music Project' under the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies was due in first place to the late Professor Arthur F. Wright of Yale University, and it was thanks to his personal advocacy on our behalf that the course of training in research, in the University of Cambridge, of three members of the group was financed, entirely or in part, by a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Our debt to the Foundation and to the Council, as well as to other bodies, has already been acknowledged elsewhere. Here I would register a personal debt to the imaginative support given by Arthur Wright, and record my grief that I cannot place this volume in his hands and say: 'Herewith a first instalment by way of repayment of our debt.'

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L.E.R.P.

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction to *Music from the Tang Court*	5
Suite: 'The Emperor destroys the Formations' (*Ō-dai hajin-raku/Huang-di pozhen-yue* 皇帝破陣樂)	15
The title and its significance	16
History of pieces of this, or related, title	17
Preliminary comments on the structure of the suite	19
Notes on transcription and associated problems	26
(a) Modality and key	26
(b) Mensural notation	28
(c) Some features of the mouth-organ scores	30
Notes on sources in tablature transcribed in this fascicle	33
Prefatory comments in the sources	34
Glossary of signs	39
Processional (*Yusei/You-sheng* 遊聲)	40
Prelude (*Jo/Xu* 序)	43
Variant version (*dō-kyoku/tong-qu* 同曲) for zither and lute	56
Broaching (*Ha/Po* 破)	65
Section 1	65
Section 2	68
Section 3	71
Section 4	74
Section 5	77
Section 6	80

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Introduction

A quarter of a century ago, a photograph[1] of a page of a manuscript showing mouth-organ (Japanese *shō*/Chinese *sheng* 笙) and lute (*biwa*/*piba* 琵琶) tablatures of a piece, *Butoku-raku*/*Wude-yue* 武德樂 'martial virtue music', from the 'Tang Music' repertory of the Japanese Court, revealed three things. Firstly, what the mouth-organ tablatures of Tōgaku preserve is a melody, *not* the sequence of five - or six-note cluster-chords heard from the mouth-organ as played today in the Court orchestra, a melodic line very different from the melodic surface of modern performance and, furthermore, a melodic line not easily to be discriminated in the ensemble as heard today. Secondly, the manuscripts of the Tōgaku-repertory preserve a music much closer to Chinese musical taste than is contemporary Tōgaku-performance. Thirdly, the manuscripts may well have preserved for us, in all essentials, an anthology of music borrowed from the Chinese Court before the end of the Tang Dynasty — more precisely, as has become clear with the passage of time since that first observation, not later than 841.

Response to that photograph in 1953 was conditioned by two factors: first, by acquaintance with the appearance on the printed page of most of the surviving Chinese musical scores of the Song Dynasty (960–1278); second, by acquaintance with a manuscript copy of several pieces from the only known, extensive, late Tang lute-score in tablature[2], from Qianfo-dong 千佛洞, Dunhuang 敦煌 Kansu Province, made for me in 1945 by Professor Yin Falu 陰法魯 when, at Xizhou 喜州 on Erhai 耳海 lake, Kunming Province, I visited Huazhong 華中 University, evacuated to that remote and beautiful locality, as a biologist and member of the British Council's Sino-British Science Co-operation Office in China. It was Professor Yin who, on that occasion also, listed for me all the then known early Chinese sources containing notated music. Subsequently, and in part under the stimulus of an invitation from Edward J. Dent and Egon Wellesz to contribute to Volume I of *The New Oxford History of Music*, I undertook (during the next two decades) the detailed study, in chronological sequence, of all known Chinese survivals, always haunted by the possibility of specifically Tang survivals.

At that time (*c.* 1955), the only complete set of parts for a single Tōgaku-piece available to me were the facsimiles of *Gojō-raku no kyū*/*Wuchang-yue ji* 五常樂急 , published by Mueller[3] in 1874–6. When these were transcribed into staff-notation, it was at once apparent that each instrumental part was a version, appropriate to the mechanics of the instrument, of one and the same melody, pitched in different octaves. The *scores* (unlike today's *performance* by musicians trained in the tradition) preserve, therefore, the mildly heterophonic treatment of a tune by an ensemble consisting of percussion, flute, mouth-organ, double-reed cylindrical pipe, zither, and lute. The last instrument was the bass of the ensemble, while the transverse flute played the version of the melody in highest tessitura. Not only did the mouth-organ score show no trace of the chords today erected upon, and concealing, the melody-notes of its part, but the standard figurations on each note of the zither-part, and the open-

[1] In an article by Eta Harich-Schneider, 'The present condition of Japanese Court music', *The Musical Quarterly*, xxxix (1953), pp. 49–74. See Ex. 3a facing p. 61.

[2] See *Airs de Touen-houang* (*Touen-houang k'iu*), Textes à chanter des VIII^{e}–X^{e} siècles, Introduction par Jao Tsong-yi, adaptées en français avec la traduction de quelques Textes d'Airs par Paul Demiéville, Mission Paul Pelliot, Documents conservés à la bibliothèque nationale, II, Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique (Paris, 1971). The principal manuscripts in tablature are reproduced as follows: 39. Pelliot chinois 3539 v^{o} Planche LVIII, and 38. Pelliot chinois 3808 v^{o} Planches LIV–LVII.

[3] Leopold Mueller, 'Einige Notizen über die japanische Musik', *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio*, i. 6 (Tokyo, 1874), pp. 13–19; i. 8 (Tokyo, 1875), pp. 41–48; i. 9 (Tokyo, 1876), pp. 19–35. See Tafel XIX, Fig. 5; Tafel XX, Fig. 1, 2, 4; Tafel XXI, Fig. 1.

string chords sounded on all main notes of the lute-part, were also not indicated in the scores. While flute and double-reed pipe showed melodic decoration in the written parts, the version of the tune played by the zither was a somewhat simplified version of the basic tune — for reasons that have since become clear in the light of observed changes in the zither-tablatures over a span of eight centuries. Furthermore, comparison of the parts made plain that intervals in the basic tune could be freely inverted in practice, so as to accommodate the melody to the note-set available on any given instrument. Thus occasional leaps of sixths, sevenths, and ninths, in the mouth-organ part, could replace thirds and seconds in the lute-part, where the interval is not available on the mouth-organ.

Most strikingly, the transcribed parts would have been acceptable to a Chinese ear, in a way that Japanese performance of Tōgaku-pieces is not. Even so, the melodies have a rhythmic drive and a 'square', almost 'classical Western' structure, unlike many Chinese tunes today. Furthermore, as more mouth-organ scores were transcribed,[4] it became clear that many tunes were hexatonic or heptatonic, in modes with a major third between final and mediant (like Chinese heptatonic *gong* 宮 , *shang* 商 , and *zhi* 徵 modes), and that none of the tunes were of the hemitonic, pentatonic type, so characteristic of one part of Japanese folk song and of Japanese art-song of the Edo period.

From that first glimpse of a single mouth-organ score, it had seemed possible that the manuscript *scores* of Japanese Tōgaku might well have preserved for later generations an anthology of music borrowed from the Tang Court; but it was not possible to proceed further until 1966, when I transcribed all pieces of the Tōgaku-repertory available in printed mouth-organ and transverse-flute scores.[4] In the intervening decade, I had transcribed for Arthur Waley the tune of Prince Genji's dance: 'Waves of the Blue Sea'[5] (*Seigaiha/Qinghai-bo* 青海波), together with a handful of other items mentioned by title in Chinese Tang sources. To the quasi-*estampie* or *basse-danse*-like character of these tunes, I drew attention in a note[6] to the *Ethnomusicological News Letter* of the Society for Ethnomusicology in 1956.

The transcription, in 1966, of more than 50 Tōgaku pieces, including two musically interrelated movements of a suite known to Tang historical sources: 'The singing of Spring orioles', convinced me that here was a substantial body of music, sharing no traits of formal structure or of modality with Japanese music as we experience it today — either folk or art music — sharing certain traits, however, both formal and modal, with Chinese art-song melodies of the Song and Yuan periods, but also displaying (to some extent) a more Western-sounding character than that of most Chinese music of today, whether folk or art music.

When I showed the set of transcriptions to the late Bence Szabolcsi, and to Benjamin Rajeczky, in Budapest in 1966, both commented on the many formal and modal links that exist between this repertory and that of archaic Central and East Asian melody.

There remained one area of uncertainty in my mind: The scores preserved in engraved facsimile by Mueller (footnote 3) bore witness to a heterophonic ensemble. What would the balance be like in an ensemble of lute, zither, reed-pipe, mouth-organ, and flute — one of each, let us say? Would it have been obvious to the ear that strings and melodically undecorated wind (mouth-organ) carried the basic melody; or would the ensemble still appear to be — as the Tōgaku-ensemble appears today, both to Japanese and Western listeners — accompanied monody, with reed-pipe and transverse flute carrying *the* melody?

A visit to Taiwan in 1972, prior to my first visit to Japan in search of manuscripts, enabled me to undertake a crucial experiment. My friend and colleague Professor Zhuang Benli 莊本立 was so kind as to put me in touch with a group of performing musicians, and in particular with Mr Wu Wuxing 吳武行 , a gifted sheng-player. I provided nine Tang-Music tunes, transcribed from modern printings of the mouth-organ scores,

[4] These were available in printed mouth organ and transverse flute scores, representing the Meiji tradition, obtained for me by the late Mr Eric B. Ceadel, at that time University Lecturer in Japanese in the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge. They were *Tōgi Bunrei Gagakushū* 東儀文禮雅樂集 (1934), *Hōshō-fu* 鳳笙譜 , *Ryūteki-fu* 龍笛譜 , Tokyo; *Tenrikyō Gagakubu* 天理教雅樂部 (1953), *Hōshō-fu, Ryūteki-fu,* Tokyo.

[5] For a later transcription, see R. Wolpert, A. Marett, J. Condit, and L. Picken, ' "The Waves of Kokonor": a dance-tune of the T'ang Dynasty', *Asian Music*, (December 1973), pp. 3–9.

[6] *Ethnomusicology News Letter* No. 6 (1956), p. 9.

written out in the numerical notation most commonly used by Chinese musicians today when writing melodies. Copies were given to each of the musicians, with no instructions other than these: (1) that each tune be played several times in sequence, starting at a pace judged suitable by Mr Wu (who led the ensemble), and with the pace increasing with each repetition; (2) that certain of the winds — *xiao* 簫 (vertical, notched flute), *di-zi* 笛子 (transverse flute with kazoo-membrane), and *guan-zi* 管子 (double-reed, cylindrically bored, reed-pipe) — should freely decorate their performance, with increasingly florid decoration in successive repeats of the tune. This latter practice is that used generally by Chinese musicians when performing any popular tune. It is known as 'adding flowers' (*jia hua* 加花).

It was at once apparent that the lute (piba) could hold its own in such an ensemble: the bass version of the tune on the piba came through clearly, giving a sure foundation for the ensemble. By contrast, the decorated versions provided by the flutes furnished a tenuous gloss, the detail in which could only be heard by a special effort of attention. The treble version that attracted most attention from the ear was that of the mouth-organ. In playing this instrument, Mr Wu did *not* invariably re-inforce the melodic line with fifth above or fourth below or octave above; at times he played in a purely linear fashion. On the other hand, he plainly had no difficulty in adding fourth or fifth parallels at speed, when so inclined; but when playing as fast as possible, he tended to play the simple, linear version of the tune.

In sum then, the audibility of all parts as variants of a single melody, performed in different octaves according to the properties of the respective instruments, was confirmed by this experiment.

The reaction of the musicians to the tunes themselves was also of interest. They found them attractive, but not entirely Chinese. No one said they were *not* Chinese, or that they were foreign — in the very positive way, for example, that Professor Mabuchi Usaburō 馬淵卯三郎 of Ōsaka Kyōiku University 大阪教育大學, said on hearing for the first time the mouth-organ tune of *Shu koshi/Jiu Hu-zi* 酒胡子 ('The Wine-Puppet'), later in 1972: 'That is not a Japanese tune'. Since so many of the tunes in the Tōgaku-repertory are of Sogdian or Kuchean provenance (as attested by Chinese sources), there is good reason for their sounding not quite Chinese to Chinese musicians of today. The reaction of the group of Chinese musicians in Taiwan to the tunes transcribed from the mouth-organ scores was very different, however, from the reaction of Chinese musicians to Tōgaku as performed in Japan. In general, the dissonances of Tōgaku-performances are intolerable to Chinese ears, and no resemblance to any known Chinese music is felt.

Transcriptions of the mouth-organ parts had therefore uncovered, in nine Tōgaku-tunes, a melodic nucleus not distasteful to Chinese musical sensibilities and, moreover, a nucleus that could not have been devised by a Japanese, if Japanese melody has always had the characteristics revealed by Japanese folk-song and traditional art-music today.

In 1970, I was for the first time able to see a substantial body of *Gagaku/Ya-yue* 雅樂 manuscript scores. Dr Elling Eide (Harvard University) had drawn my attention to a collection of scores (mostly of Tōgaku) offered for sale by a bookseller in Kyōto, the Shibunkaku Book Store. This collection included a Tōgaku-scroll for lute, written during the lifetime of the Emperor Ōgimachi 正親町 (reigned 1557–86) and dated 1566, as well as a complete, undated, mouth-organ score of the suite *Sogōkō/Suhexiang* 蘇合香 With the help of a loan from my College, I was able to buy this collection, which had formed part of the Kikutei family's collection (菊亭家), the bulk of which is now housed in the Library of Kyōto University. The manuscripts then purchased (including manuscripts of *Saibara/Cuima-yue* 催馬樂 and *Shōmyō/Shengming* 聲明) are now housed in the University Library, Cambridge. This collection at once confirmed my anticipation, in that all five instrumental parts (lute, zither, mouth-organ, reed-pipe, flute) were melodic parts and closely related to each other — just as they had been for *Gojō-raku no kyū* (p. 5) in Mueller's engraved facsimiles.

At this time, however, I knew of no manuscript earlier than the single manuscript of 1566 written by Tōgi no Kaneyasu, Governor of Inaba (d. 1588), of the Uzamasa clan 太秦朝臣東儀因幡守兼康, and of the Tennōji tradition. This manuscript lacks a 'written seal' (see p. 33), but is judged (by Professor Fukushima Kazuo — see p. 8) on grounds of paper, and style in general, to be a copy made shortly after the completion of the original. I was aware that Emperor Ōgimachi had brought together musicians from various localities, in order to revive the music of Court ceremonies,[7] and it seemed possible that sets of tablatures for the five melodic instruments, comparable with the Tōgi no Kaneyasu biwa-score, might have resulted from this action, providing (as it would) for a work of collation of manuscript traditions among musicians belonging to different regional groups — Nara, Ōsaka,

[7] See, for example *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai* (KBS) *Bulletin* on Japanese culture, October–November 1969, *98: Gagaku, Kangen* and *Bugaku*' p. 5.

Kyōto, etc. It seemed possible that there might still exist in Japan a set or sets of synchronously edited manuscripts, roughly of the Momoyama period (桃 山). The single bibliographical study of Gagaku-manuscripts known to me[8] had been disappointing, in that all were copies of relatively late date, and I did not then appreciate the significance of the presence of colophons of earlier date and the trustworthiness of scribal transmission. I had at that time no means of discovering what manuscripts were present, for example, in the Library of the Imperial Household in Tōkyō (Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部), or in the great private libraries, such as Yōmei Bunko in Kyōto.

In 1972, the University of Cambridge, by a generous travel grant, made possible a visit to Japan of three months' duration. My object was to seek *dated* manuscript scores for each of the five melodic instruments, as far back as the beginning of the Tōgaku tradition in Japan.

Through the kindness extended to me by the Ishibashi Family, and in particular through the kindness of Mrs Ishibashi Hiroko 石橋裕子 and Professor Fukushima Kazuo 福島和夫 in opening doors for me through their introductions, I enjoyed the privilege of working through Tōgaku manuscripts in the Palace Library, and the instruction of both Professor Tsuji Toshio 辻寿男 and Professor Bunno Katsu-aki 豊雄秋 of the Palace Division of Music, the Gakubu 樂部 , in matters relating to the structure and properties of biwa, hichiriki, and shō. In Kyōto, through the kind interest of the Director of the Women's College of Liberal Arts of Dōshisha University, Professor Ochi Fumio 越智文雄 , I was put in touch with the late Professor Nakaseko Kazu 中瀬古和 and with Professor Takayama Osamu 高山修 , who jointly made possible my contacts with Yōmei Bunko and with the Library of Kyōto Daigaku. I remember with gratitude the help given me also by Mr Nawa Osamu 名和修 in exploring the catalogues of Yōmei Bunko, and the warm reception accorded me by Professor Tominaga Makita 富永牧太, Director of the Tenri Central Library of Tenri University.

To Professor Fukushima I owe a particular debt, for it was he who imparted to me in the shortest possible space of time a mass of invaluable background information on bibliographical matters — the names, for example, of the great families (Fushimi-no-miya, Konoe, Kikutei, and others) associated with the major collections of Tōgaku manuscripts — and initiated me into the use of genealogies as a means of approximately dating signed, but undated, manuscripts.

A first 'discovery' was that many Tang-Music manuscripts of dates far earlier than the sixteenth century survive. My original vision of a set of synoptic manuscripts from the late Muromachi (室町) or Momoyama periods was not realized; but by the end of a three months' stay, it had become possible to draw up a table of dated manuscripts — including two of Tang-date, and one tenth-century copy of one of Tang-date — establishing continuity of the manuscript-tradition from the Tang Dynasty to the manuscripts of the Meiji Restoration. A table setting out these results was distributed to those attending my lecture: 'The documentary history of the Tōgaku repertory' in Yale University, New Haven, in April, 1973.

A number of fragmentary manuscripts of the Kamakura period (鎌倉), belonging to the Fushimi-no-miya Collection and housed in Kunaichō Shoryōbu, are still not available for inspection or copying, owing to their fragility and need of repair; and there are known to be manuscripts retained in private hands, not available for examination, or if available for scrutiny, not available for copying. Among such are flute and hichiriki manuscripts of Kamakura and Muromachi date. Notwithstanding their interest and importance, however, such manuscripts cannot, we submit, seriously modify the picture outlined here of the history of the Tōgaku-tradition in Japan; if and when they become available for study, they can help us, in due course, to fill in details — in particular, details of transmission from musician to musician, and from centre to centre.

Before I left for Japan in March 1972, my then prospective pupil (now Dr Rembrandt Wolpert) and I had transcribed, in the light of its own instructions, a small lute-manuscript, undated and unsigned, from the collection purchased. Paper and calligraphy suggest that this is of late Edo date — probably eighteenth century. It contains ten Tōgaku-tunes and was evidently prepared (as were so many small items in the Palace collections under the rubric *Taka* (鷹) 519.c.8.2)[9] for a beginner — perhaps for a son of a noble household. On my return from Japan, Dr Wolpert

[8] Hirade, Hisao 平出久雄 : *Yamanoi Kageaki shi gagaku zōsho mokuroku* 山井景昭氏雅樂藏書目錄(上) in *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū* 東洋音樂研究 (Tokyo 1951), *9*, pp. 139–146; (下) ibid., (1952), *10, 11*, pp. 54–66.

[9] *Gagaku denju shorui* 雅樂傳授書類 (1–48).

undertook the study of the earliest lute-manuscripts and the work of their transcription.

A second pupil, now Dr Allan Marett, joined us in October 1972, and began a study of the oldest surviving flute-score, known as *Hakuga no fue-fu* 博雅笛譜, originally compiled in 966 (see p. 13, fn. 19). A third pupil, now Dr Jonathan Condit, arrived in 1973. Stimulated by comments on the apparent slowing down of Tōgaku-pieces, over the centuries, in Japanese performance, Dr Condit began to scrutinize certain items of Korean Court-music from a similar standpoint and was led, first, to uncover original 'Drumming and Blowing' (*guchui* 鼓吹) melodies, borrowed from China in the Song Dynasty, and thence to the first musically satisfactory interpretation of the mensural principles of full-scores of purely Korean music,[10] preserved in 'The Veritable Records of Sejong' (*Sejong Sillok* 世宗實錄), the manuscript of which was completed in 1452–4. But Dr Condit was also an expert performer on the *kayagŭm* 伽倻琴, the Korean zither most closely related to Chinese zheng and Japanese *koto* or *gaku-sō* 樂箏; and he was quickly playing the zither-scores of Tōgaku in the *Jinchi-yōroku* 仁智要錄, compiled by Dajōdaijin Fujiwara no Moronaga 太政大臣藤原師長, perhaps during the time of his exile from the Heian Court, which began in 1170. At the same time, Dr Wolpert was playing (on a Chinese piba) the scores of the synchronous compilation for lute (by the same editor): *Sango-yōroku* 三五要錄.

With flute-parts from the tenth century, lute and zither parts of the twelfth century, and a mouth-organ score of the late thirteenth century (completed in 1303, see p. 30), the *Shinsen shō-teki-fu* 新撰笙笛譜, it became evident to us that scores of later date tend to be more conspicuously decorated than earlier scores. Moreover, the lute and zither compendia of Moronaga have preserved, for many items in the Tōgaku repertory, a primary, and (in the case of measured pieces) usually less decorated, version of a piece, as well as one or more *dō-kyoku/tong-qu* 同曲 'same piece'. These latter are, in many instances, melodically more elaborate versions of the primary version. We believe, then, that the versions in the *Hakuga no fue-fu* of 966 (or rather in much later copies of this, since no early copies survive) are closer to Tang originals than later versions and that, to a first approximation, the melodies as received by the Japanese from the Chinese are to be recovered by stripping off decoration, according to certain principles.

The oldest known versions of Tōgaku-tunes are those preserved in the manuscript for five-stringed lute, known as the *Gogen kin-fu/Wuxian qin-pu* 五絃琴譜, preserved in the Yōmei Bunko Library in Kyōto, and first transcribed *in extenso* by Wolpert (1975, 1981).[11] Where the same tune has survived in *Hakuga no fue-fu* and/or in Moronaga's collections, *Sango-* and *Jinchi-yōroku*, the essential identity of pieces in the several versions, in earlier and later manuscripts, is apparent in certain instances. There are other cases, however, where a change in mode has occurred between *Gogen kin-fu* (842) and the later tradition, or where the relationship is one between variants. In some instances, several differing variants are preserved in *Gogen kin-fu*, none of which is identical with the single surviving version, though all are in some measure related to that which survives. This is so for the mysterious piece: 'Midnight Music' (*Yahanraku/Yeban-yue* 夜半樂). The existence of such variants does not, however, weaken our claim to be in a position to recover music of the Tang period from the surviving manuscripts of Tōgaku.

A last recruit to our 'Tang Music Project' was Dr. Elizabeth Markham who joined in 1975. Although her studies have been focused on the *Saibara/Cuima-yue* 催馬樂 ('Drovers' Songs') division of the Japanese Court-repertory — a division generally believed to be largely a purely Japanese genre of court-song — she has from necessity been led to work with both *Jinchi-yōroku* and *Sango-yōroku* (the first member of the group so to do), to work through the entire Komagaku-repertory — also preserved in *Jinchi-* and *Sango-yōroku*, to work through the entire early zither-manuscrupt, *Ko sō-fu* 古箏譜 — first explored by Dr Condit — and to re-examine problems in the transcription of the *Hakuga no fue-fu* — first tackled by Dr Marett. As a result of this wide-ranging examination of almost the entire range of tablatures, Dr Markham's studies have become relevant to our continuing study of Tōgaku

[10] J. Condit, *Sources of Korean Music, 1450–1600*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1976, No. 9792; 'A fifteenth-century Korean score in mensural notation', *Musica Asiatica 2* (1979), pp. 1–87.

[11] R. F. Wolpert, 'A ninth-century score for five-stringed lute', *Musica Asiatica 3* (1981), pp. 107–35. See also R. F. Wolpert, *Lute music and tablatures of the Tang period,* a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cambridge, 26 October 1975, University Library Cambridge, No. 9447, and 'A ninth-century Sino-Japanese lute-tutor', *Musica Asiatica 1* (1977), p. 111–165 (this is the *Fushimi-no-miya hon biwa-fu*).

manuscripts, more particularly in relation to the detailed interpretation of ornaments, and to the mensural interpretation of *Preludes* (*jo/xu* 序) and *Processionals* (*yusei/you-sheng* 遊聲).

It seems possible that the principles of ornamentation — the use of shakes (as mordents or *Pralltriller*), appoggiaturas, and passing notes — were themselves originally imparted to Japanese musicians by professional musicians, both Chinese and Korean, and only later were such ornaments written into scores, as the speed of performance was reduced. *Gogen kin-fu*, for example, includes no shakes — indicated by the Chinese lexigraph 由 , borrowed to represent the Japanese sound *yu*, as in Heian Japanese *yushi* ゆし 'shaking'. (On the other hand, certain ornaments, notated in detail, occur *only* in *Gogen kin-fu* — see Wolpert (1975, 1981, op.cit., p. 9). A very few shakes (由) are present in the *Biwa-fu* of the Fushimi-no-miya family — presumably introduced in Prince Sadayasu's copying, since the sign is not known in Chinese use,[12] and the number of such shakes is increased in the copy of this same *Biwa-fu* incorporated into the first scroll of *Sango-yōroku*. In later scores for lute, and in Moronaga's own lute-score of Tōgaku-pieces, shakes are replaced by finger-plucked mordents; and these match, precisely, mordents in the zither-scores (in *Jinchi-yōroku*, for example) produced by cycles of increased tension (before plucking), release, and restoration of tension.[9,12]

Even the linear style of melodic amplification, regarded as a metrical transformation in the Tōgaku-vocabulary, and referred to as *gaku-byōshi* 樂拍子 , in which each beat (*hyōshi/paizi* 拍子) — in this present publication given crotchet (quarter-note) value — is replaced by a pair of quavers (eighth-notes), either appoggiatura and resolution, or note and following passing-note, may not be a specifically Japanese, formal, decorative procedure. In Tōgaku-pieces, it occurs in particular in dō-kyoku/tong-qu versions (see p. 9.). Yet again, the decoration of the flute-parts of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and of yet later hichiriki-parts, calls to mind Chinese procedures of today, when flute or reed-pipe 'adds flowers' to a given melody (p. 7).

It is to be noted that for Japanese musicians, and even for Japanese musicologists until very recently, the early documents of the Tōgaku-tradition were esteemed — venerated even — for their antiquarian and historical interest, rather than for their musical value. When I and my pupils began our studies, no Japanese had attempted more than a partial transcription of any of these manuscripts. Even when the attempt at transcription was made by so eminent a scholar as the late Professor Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三 — the leading figure in the field of study of the early manuscript-scores — it is plain that he found it difficult, if not impossible, to escape from the performance-tradition of Tōgaku as it survives today (see later). Indeed, the belief that no deviation from the Tang tradition of performance is conceivable, since at all centres of Tōgaku-performance strenuous efforts have been made faithfully to preserve the oral tradition, has tended to make it impossible for most Japanese — not excluding musicologists — to conceive the possibility that change has taken place, even over a thousand-year period during which, at each dynastic upheaval, as well as during the samurai-wars that followed the end of the Kamakura period, Gagaku-performance at court ceased, and musicians were liable to be dispersed. While it is true that performance probably continued at certain centres: the Kasuga Shrine at Nara (Shintō), the Tennōji (Buddhist) in Ōsaka, the Kōfukuji (Buddhist) in Kyōto, there can be little doubt that the tradition was frequently threatened. And always, with increasing age, the veneration accorded the tradition came to exert, surely, on this music that same effect as is to be observed in the West, where also a borrowed 'foreign' music — the plain-song tradition — underwent retardation. It is perhaps axiomatic that music which is greatly venerated, that belongs to another musical world, separated from us either by age or by distance, always tends to be performed more and more slowly. Perhaps only Maelzel's metronome has saved us from *adagissimo* performances of the classical European repertory!

When I visited Professor Hayashi Kenzō in 1972 and asked, through my friend and interpreter, Mr Yoshizaki Masatoshi of Dōshisha University (then a member of Amostokan), what was the earliest, surviving, dated hichiriki-manuscript of the Tōgaku-repertory, Professor Hayashi was unable to answer with certainty; but he commented (and the comment was later passed on to me) to this effect: 'Why trouble about these oldest, dated manuscripts? The more recent copies are clearer, more reliable, and more free from mistakes.' Evidently, Professor Hayashi had no doubt as to the purity, not merely of the performing tradition, but also of the documentary tradition, presumably up to, and inclusive of, the Meiji revision.

[12] L. E. R. Picken and Yōko Mitani, 'Finger-techniques for the zithers *sō-no-koto* and *kin* in Heian times', *Musica Asiatica 2* (1979), pp. 89–114.

In the case of the manuscript scores for one instrument, the zither gaku-sō, however, there is overwhelming evidence of change in playing-technique between Moronaga's *Jinchi-yōroku* and the *Sentei-fu* 撰定譜 of the Meiji restoration. In the former, the zither-scores display extensive use of the left hand in gracing the melody — as practised still today in the playing of koto or zoku-sō, Korean kayagŭm, and Chinese zheng. As shown by my friend and colleague, Professor Mitani Yōko 三谷陽子, working in Cambridge in 1976 and 1977,[12] while there is some reduction in the use of the left hand from Moronaga's time onwards (the bulk of the signs are still included, however, in a *Kambun sannen sō-fu* 寛文三年箏譜 of 1663),[13] in the *Sentei-fu* of the Meiji these signs have disappeared, and the zither-score now exhibits only an approximation to the original tune, lacking all written embellishments. This reduction in one type of ornamentation — due, presumably, to the fact that slowing down rendered inaudible ornaments produced by tension-change — was offset by the introduction of the standard figurations: *shizugaki* 閑掻 and *hayagaki* 早掻, applied to each note of the original melody. Such figurations serve to fill the silences created by decay of the melody-note consequent upon progressive retardation over the centuries; and figurations of this kind cannot have been applied to the gaku-sō part *until* simplification (with abolition of the left-hand gracing-techniques) had occurred. They may be of no greater antiquity than the Meiji restoration.

When Professor Fukushima Kazuo showed me a manuscript copy of *Hakuga no fue-fu* in 1972, no one had succeeded in transcribing it — not even Professor Hayashi; but through the patient accumulation of statistics relating to the usages of the manuscript itself, Dr Marett was able to discriminate, define, and explain, every feature of six, different, hitherto unknown systems of mensural notation. As a result of his work, only a very small portion of that manuscript (where the scribe has failed, seemingly, to complete his work) now remains untranscribed. Even of this portion, however, the *notes* can be transcribed. It is clear from Professor Hayashi's attempts to compare related Saibara and Tōgaku melodies, for example, that he did not understand completely the respective mensural systems: he could only make comparisons between sequences of notes. A detailed comparison has now been made, however, by Dr Elizabeth Markham — the first scholar to explain every feature of Moronaga's mensural notations. Again, from performances of tuning-testing pieces and modal preludes from the *Biwa-fu* of the Fushimi-no-miya family, recorded on disk under the supervision of Professor Hayashi,[14] it is evident that he could only envisage their realization as if they were biwa-passages from Tōgaku-items performed today, using the traditional, large plectrum of all surviving Japanese lutes. It was left to Dr Wolpert[11] to show that the entire *Biwa-fu* relates to a finger-plucked lute, as indicated decisively by the frequent specification of chords on non-adjacent (disjunct) strings, as well as by the explicit list of fingering-signs, and their extensive use in that manuscript. Because the entire Japanese lute-playing tradition as it survives today, whether for *Satsuma-biwa* 薩摩琵琶, *Heike-biwa* 平家琵琶, or *gaku-biwa* 樂琵琶, is evidently based on Sui and early Tang usage of a large plectrum, neither Professor Hayashi nor any other Japanese scholar had perceived that the Biwa-fu reflects Chinese practice of the latter half of the eighth century, when the plectrum had been discarded in favour of the greater variety of tone-colour obtainable through finger-plucking.

Our method in the study and transcription of the earliest scores of the Tōgaku-tradition surviving in Japan has throughout been: to read them with no more information than that given in the manuscripts themselves, deliberately ignoring the living tradition and performance-practice of today. We have read the manuscripts as what they are: Chinese musical scores, annotated in a Sino-Japanese that is, effectively, 'Chinese', that is to say in simple, straightforward *Kambun/Han-wen* 漢文. I began, in the 'fifties, by reading mouth-organ scores and arguing that a melodic line, scarcely (if at all) to be discriminated in the Tōgaku-ensemble (*Kangen/Guan-xian* 管絃) as heard today, of a character so at variance with any known Japanese music, is unlikely to have been invented in Japan. It is likely, then, to be a genuine relic of the borrowed repertory of the Tang Court. Our more recent exploration of the oldest flute-, lute-, and zither-manuscripts has revealed these same tunes of the mouth-organ-scores, but in versions appropriate to the several different instruments. In the light of our transcriptions — let the reader open this fascicle at any page and take a single glance — there can be no doubt that each instrument is carrying its version of a single melodic

[13] The colophon is signed (with kakihan/kaō): *Shō-shi-i-ge-gyō, Hōki no kami*, Koma no Chikamoto 正四位下行伯耆守狛近元 (Governor of Hōki, First grade, lower fourth rank).

[14] *Tempyō, Heian jidai no ongaku* 天平 平安時代の音樂 CDX-12 Stereo (Columbia).

invention. Applying this conclusion to the entire body of scores, each instrument in its scores carries its own version of a single repertory. Furthermore, the tunes of this repertory have been wholly concealed, from performers and listeners alike, perhaps ever since the fourteenth century. They have certainly been safeguarded from any possibility of alteration, at least since that century, by this same concealment, brought about (as we believe) by the operation of time alone.

My own approach — from which followed that of my pupils — was based on previous experience gained in transcribing all the surviving early sources of Chinese music, from the Tang Confucian ritual melodies preserved by Zhu Xi, to those of Song Jiang Kui and Yuan Xiung Penglai, to the art-songs of Jiang Kui and the minuscule Yuan melodiarium in the *Shilin Guangji* 事林廣記, to the song with qin-accompaniment by Jiang Kui, and thence to the qin-repertory of the fifteenth century and onwards. Our collective approach, analysing the documents in question in their own terms, is one widely practised by Sinologists in recent times, and is to be seen at work in the translations by Karlgren and Waley — who laid aside the accumulated interpretations of the commentaries — of the *Book of Songs* (*Shi Jing* 詩經 : Waley, 1937; Karlgren, 1950), for example, or in the detailed study of a fragment of the *Guan-zi* 管子 by Haloun.[15] It is the attempt to determine what an ancient text meant at the time when it was written.

Performance-practice over the centuries has transmuted music borrowed from the Chinese Court into a unique musical tradition, that of Tōgaku-performance, whether as Kangen or as Bugaku. Let no one suppose that our work in any way diminishes the value of that tradition, with its ineffably mysterious atmosphere of a lost world, the world of Tang, now viewed by the Japanese through rose-tinted spectacles at a distance of a thousand years, a world that made so deep an impression on their missions, during the Sui and Tang Dynasties. What our work does is to disclose that which has hitherto been concealed; to bring back not merely a lost repertory of melodies and, indeed, of extended musical forms but, since the Chinese Court was the venue of musics from Central Asia, India, South-East Asia, and Korea, an anthology of early 'medieval' musics of Asia.

The conviction on which selection of manuscripts for transcription has rested, in assembling the quasi-full-score presented here is: that the oldest surviving scores are closer to the borrowed Tang-tradition than later scores; furthermore, what distinguishes later from earlier scores is that the later scores are more decorated than the earlier. In our view, this conviction is confirmed by: (1) the character of melodic movement in the versions of Tōgaku-pieces in the *Gogen kin-fu* (842) — largely in equal notes, with no shakes other than those written out in full, and with a single, sparsely used, phrase-marker (*ichi/yi* 一); (2) the relationship between *Hakuga no fue-fu* and later flute-scores of the Kamakura period, the latter being almost as floridly decorated as the modern flute-parts; (3) the relationship between the *Fushimi-no-miya hon biwa-fu* of 838 (copy of 920/21) and the version of this same biwa-fu in *Sango-yōroku* (*c.* 1171); (4) the relationship between earlier and later mouth-organ scores; (5) the relationship between the zither-versions of Tōgaku-pieces in the *Ko sō-fu* (probably reflecting a mensural system older than the apparent date of writing, *c.* 1000) and those in *Jinchi-yōroku* (*c.* 1171).

To Japanese musicians and musicologists it may well seem misguided to the point of perversity to reject later flute- and reed-pipe manuscripts since, in the view of the Court musicians (as reported by Garfias[16]) it is precisely the reed-pipe (hichiriki) that carries *the* melody. To this attitude our reply is simple: it is alone the slowing down of performance that has robbed lute, zither, and mouth-organ parts of their melodic character. The aural predominance of the reed-pipe, even in the kangen/guan-xian ensemble of strings and winds, is furthermore assured by the practice of increasing the number of hichiriki-players and making-do with a minimum of strings. Evidently the string parts are treated in this way because they are felt to be musically less meaningful — as, indeed, at present-day speeds they are. Even the hichiriki-part is viewed by the musicians not as a melodic sequence of discrete notes, but as a sequence of variably pitched notes, the pitch of which changes in a controlled fashion while the note endures — a sequence, the members of which are linked by carefully timed glides that have come to be a feature of the performance on which great skill and attention are lavished. While visiting the Gakubu, it was frequently my good fortune to hear, somewhere in the building, a hichiriki-player practising, over and over again, the same glide from one pitch to another. Even the

[15] Gustav Haloun, 'Legalist fragments Part I: Kuan-tsï 55 and related texts', *Asia Major*, New Series Vol. II (1951), pp. 85–120.

[16] R. Garfias, *Music of a thousand autumns: the Tōgaku style of Japanese Court music* (University of California Press, 1976), p. 56.

decoratively expanded melodic line of the hichiriki, therefore, is subjected to a further degree of microscopic attention in the minute control of on- and off-glides, and of the gradual sharpening of sustained notes to their definitive pitch. The phrases of the original melody, between line-initial and line-final, are now so extended as to escape attention; and it is in part for this reason that the melodic surface of Tōgaku-pieces in performance is of such a sameness as to make it extremely difficult to identify, or even to discriminate between, pieces in the same modal group on hearing a short extract only.

The later flute- and reed-pipe scores are not by any means without interest; but their interest relates to the transformation of Tōgaku, to the transition from 'Tang-yue' to 'Tōgaku' in Japan.[17] Both categories of score (flute and reed-pipe) show, between Kamakura or Muromachi times and, say, the present, an increasing ornamentation of the melodic line; both are subject in performance today to the same process of unwritten modal modification. It must be understood, however, that the purpose of this present publication is not to chart the evolution of 'music from the Tang Court' to Tōgaku as now performed, but rather to make available the most remarkable body of ancient, secular, instrumental music, in mensural notations, existing anywhere in the world. (For the sake of completeness, both the earliest Kamakura version of the flute-score and the earliest Muromachi hichiriki-score may be included in the series of volumes of *Music from the Tang Court* at a later stage.)

The use in our title of the preposition 'from' is deliberate. It indicates the place of origin of this music at the time of its transmission, and it reminds the reader of the process of derivation: that it is a borrowed repertory. It excludes the notion that this music has remained unchanged in the Japanese environment, even at the earliest date after its introduction at which the surviving manuscripts today afford a glimpse. Several versions of single pieces are preserved (as already indicated) in the manuscript score for five-stringed lute, date 842, and in several instances *none* of these versions is identical with the variant that has survived in the repertory as performed today, and as concealed in the mouth-organ part. Here, then, is evidence of the presence of primary and original variation in the earliest substratum of the tradition, as well as of change brought about by subsequent selection and/or modification. That tunes have been transferred from one mode-key group to another is certain from notes on the history of certain pieces contemporary with the manuscript scores, or in the handbooks, and in at least one instance a piece in a 'major' mode in the *Gogen kin-fu* has become 'minor' in all later manuscripts and for all instruments. Such changes are compatible with the preference of Japanese ears, increasingly evident over the centuries, for 'minor' rather than 'major' tunes.[18]

Turning for a moment to the fact of the existence of these notations *at all* in the Japanese environment, in view of their non-existence in China — apart from the single manuscript, the *Dunhuang piba-pu* 敦煌琵琶譜 ,[2] which survived in a peripheral region of China: the manuscripts exist in Japan, in all probability, because, during the mission to China in 838, Japanese officials — and in particular the Head of Music in the Mission,[19] Ōto no Kiyogami 大戸清上 , and the lutenist, Fujiwara nó Sadatoshi 藤原貞敏 — required them to be made, and presumably paid Chinese musician-scribes to make them. Such manuscripts have not survived in China: (a) because the succeeding Song Dynasty made strenuous efforts to eradicate all trace of the scandalous importation of foreign music, dancers, and musicians, to Court entertainments of the Sui and especially of the Tang; (b) because practising Chinese musicians, playing a popular repertory, have habitually made little use of notated scores — the notation of pieces performed by the tributary musicians from the State of Pyū, performing at the Tang Court in 802, was evidently (from the *Jiu Tang Shu* 舊唐書 account) a most exceptional occurrence.[20]

The existence of a copious, printed repertory of scores for the Chinese 7-stringed zither, *gu-qin* 古琴 , may at first sight appear to contradict the statement made in the preceding paragraph, beginning with Song Jiang Kui's zither piece, first printed in the early thirteenth century, and continuing from the *Shenqi mipu* 神奇秘譜 of Quxian 臞仙 (printed in 1425) to the present century; but the qin-repertory was not a popular repertory: the

[17] '"Tang Music" and its fate in Japan' *Source materials and the interpretation of music: a memorial volume to Thurston Dart,* ed. Ian Bent (London, Stainer & Bell, 1981).

[18] The terms 'major' and 'minor' indicate only that the mediant is a major or minor third above the final.

[19] 'Tunes notated in flute-tablature from a Japanese source of the tenth century', *Musica Asiatica 1* (1977), p. 23. See also *Hakuga's flute score,* Dissertation, University Library, Cambridge' No. 9823, 26 October 1976.

[20] D. C. Twitchett and A. H. Christie, 'A medieval Burmese orchestra', *Asia Major*, New Series Vol. VII (1959), pp. 176–95. See pp. 11, 16–18.

players were of the highly literate class of the scholar-gentry, and even they used scores only when learning a piece, or in order to rekindle fading memory.

The history of the origin and development of the five tablatures of Tōgaku is an almost untouched field of study. The fact that Japanese gagaku-musicians usually give the old Chinese sounds to the Chinese characters, rather than their Japanese readings, supports the view that the tablatures are Chinese in origin; but since, with the exception of the lute-tablature, these notations are not known in China, the question of ultimate origin cannot as yet be answered. In China itself, the lute-tablature (for example) did not survive and is known only from the single manuscript already referred to (p. 5).[2] A Song Dynasty song-notation, used by Jiang Kui and continuing in use in China into the Yuan period, is not obviously related to any of the five tablatures of the Tōgaku melodic instruments. In China, it was replaced by another system, the *gong-che pu* 工尺譜; and this in turn was replaced by another — a numerical 'sol-fa' — in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the zither-scores of preludes attributed to the Chinese Sun Bin 孫賓, including one manuscript-fragment dated 718,[12] and surviving in Japanese manuscripts, are in a tablature closely related to that of the earliest extensive zither-manuscript of Tōgaku-pieces, the *Ko sō-fu* (Tenri University Library), and to later, Heian zither-tablatures. It seems probable that a number of variants of the different tablatures for the different instruments were in at least occasional use by different groups of musicians in Tang China. Flute- and reed-pipe-notations in Japan appear to incorporate names of fingers transferred to names of holes fingered. The names are Chinese; but (let it be emphasized) these notations do not exist in Chinese sources. Finally, as Professor Hayashi showed,[21] many of the tablature-signs in mouth-organ and lute-scores — for the former, naming pipes; for the latter, naming fret-positions — are identical; and the tablature of the Dunhuang lute-manuscript (as also shown by Wolpert's juxtaposition[11]) is essentially identical with that of the Japanese lute-manuscripts of Tempyō (729–48) and Heian (794–1185) date.

We believe that our quasi-full-score — so-called because it is composed of parts from manuscripts of different date, as well as from those of the same date — speaks in the most compelling musical terms for the truth of the contentions outlined in this Introduction. What musician can doubt, as he reads the printed score, that this is a complete music, requiring no further decorative elaboration of any part in order to make it aesthetically satisfying? And is this not, plainly, the music of a heterophonic ensemble in which each instrument plays essentially 'the same' melodic line in accordance with its properties? Can any musician doubt that, since the zither-mordents can only be heard (because of sound-decay) in parallel wth the lute's finger-plucked mordents if the *minimal* pace is *c.* ♩ = 60, the present tempi of the Palace and other Gagaku-musicians, in which each piece is played accelerando from *c.* ♩ = 7 to ♩ = 12 and somewhat faster,[17] must represent a massive retardation in relation to the original tempi of Tang-Court performance?

In June 1977, my pupils recreated an entire programme, both of Tōgaku and Saibara, originally performed[22] in the presence of a priestly ex-emperor on the thirteenth day of the ninth month of the year 1147 at the Tennōji[23] in Ōsaka. Some thirty items were performed, each played once only, without the customary repeats. The programme lasted for three hours. If performed by the Court musicians at today's speeds, the performance would have lasted between 48 and 96 hours. Can anyone doubt the validity of our view: that an enormous retardation of the speed of performance has occurred? The occasion of this performance, presumably the first since that day in the twelfth century, was my birthday, and the location the garden of Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge.

[21] Hayashi, Kenzō: 'Study on explication of ancient musical score of p'i-p'a discovered at Tun-huang, China', *Bulletin of Nara Gakugei University* v, 1 (Nara, 1955); *Pibapu-di jiedu yanjiu* (Shanghai, 1957) (Chinese translation).

[22] H. Eckardt, *Das Kokonchomonshū des Tachibana Narisue als musikgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 1956), pp. 113, 114.

[23] Also referred to as Shitennō-ji 四天王寺

Suite:
'The Emperor destroys the Formations'
Ō-dai hajin-raku
Huang-di pozhen-yue

皇　帝　破　陣　樂

This largest of all the suites of the Tang-Music is placed in first position in the sequence of items in the two great lute and zither manuscript-collectanea of the late Heian period (compiled *c.* 1171), *Sango-yōroku* 三五要錄 and *Jinchi-yōroku* 仁智要錄 respectively, as well as in the mouth-organ manuscript of 1303, *Shinsen shō-teki-fu* 新撰笙笛譜 . In the light of Marett's analysis of the principles governing the order of pieces in the tenth-century flute-score, *Hakuga no fue-fu*,[1] the presence of the suite in this position is probably due to its being larger than any of the succeeding suites in this first modal group: *Ichikotsu-chō/Yiyue-diao* 壹越調 . This supposition is supported by the occurrence of this suite in the same position in its modal group, in the mouth-organ manuscript of 1244: *Ko fu/Hō-shō-fu ritsu/ryo kan* 古譜/鳳笙譜律/呂卷 , even though the sequence of modal groups in that manuscript is different, 'minor' (ritsu) groups being placed before 'major' (ryo) groups.

The title and its significance

The title 'The Emperor destroys the Formation(s)' (omitting the final element 'music', present in a majority of Tōgaku-titles) carries a significance far beyond the simple meaning of the words. The term Ō-dai/Huang-di 皇帝 , to be translated (perhaps) as 'August Sovereign', first appears in Chinese history as a title (*shi* 諡) with Qin Shi-huang-di 秦始皇帝 — that is, 'Shi (= 'the first'), August Sovereign of the State of Qin' — who, coming to the throne (as King Zheng 政 or 正) in 246 B.C., completed (in 222) the process of China's first unification, by successive conquests of the kingdoms of Han, Zhao, Qi, Wei, and Chu. As the first head of a united China, the king thereupon adopted the distinctive personal name 'Shi' and, after consultation with his ministers, created the new title 'huang-di' compounding 'huang' (= 'august', 'imperial') with 'di' (= 'supreme ruler'). In earlier times, both terms had been in use, separately, as kingly titles, or as elements of titles.[2]

The term zhen: 'a file of soldiers; an army; to place in battle array; a battle',[3] is still in use, in rural Taiwan for example, for the bodyguard of any local divinity. The guards are known collectively as *Song Jiang zhen* 宋江陣 (= 'Song Jiang's army' — that is the army of the supreme hero, Song Jiang, from the Ming Dynasty novel *Shuihu-zhuan* 水滸傳 'The Water-margin'). The term is frequently translated as 'formation', in the sense of a particular disposition of troops. 'Pozhen', with 'po' meaning 'broken, ruined; to break; to end; to solve; to take by storm; to see through; to lay bare; to destroy; to begin',[3] can be translated here as 'to destroy the formation(s)'. It is clear from the description of the positioning of dancers, attributed to the Taizong Emperor of Tang in 633 for a Pozhen-yue piece,[4] that 'formation' was the balletic sense given to 'zhen', and that the process of 'po' consisted in the penetration and outflanking of one set of ranks by others.[5]

The term 'zhen', however, was also used — as in popular romances of the later Ming Dynasty — with a remarkable extension of meaning, and came to be applied to an imaginary architectural construction, resembling a tower-fort, equipped within with magical devices: flying swords, deadly winds, noxious vapours, consuming fire, etc., under the control of a Taoist magician (or magicians). The layout of such Formations (capitalized to indicate use in the extended sense) is described in detail in the Taoist romance *Feng Shen yanyi* 封神演義 (= 'The Expanded Popular Version of the Enfiefment of Spirits'), first assembled in the later Ming. The historical basis of this romance is the overthrow of the last representative of the Shang-Yin Dynasty, the Tyrant Zhòu 紂 , by members of the Ji 姬 clan and their military aides, all of whom were Taoist adepts, skilled in magic, and usually equipped (by their Taoist teachers) with a magic weapon. In the course of the *Feng Shen yanyi*, at least fourteen magical Formations are des-

[1] Allan J. Marett, *Hakuga's flute score: a tenth-century Japanese source of 'Tang-Music' in tablature* (1976), Ph.D. Dissertation, 26 October 1976, University Library, Cambridge, No. 9823.

[2] We are indebted to Dr M. A. N. Loewe, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge, for drawing our attention to the remarkable passage in the *Shi Ji* 史記 (6, *Zhong-hua shu-ju* 中華書局 edition, Peking, 1959, pp. 235, 236) describing the deliberations of king and ministers on the formation of titles, and to the text of the stone-engraved inscription, set up by order of the emperor (ibid., p. 243) in which he is named, already during his lifetime: huang-di. See *Chavannes, Mémoires historiques, II*, pp. 122f; ibid., pp. 139f.

[3] *Matthews' Chinese English Dictionary* (Harvard University Press, 1943).

[4] *Tang-huiyao* 唐會要 (completed in 961), j. 100, p. 1786 (Peking, 1954).

[5] Martin Gimm, *Das Yüeh-fu tsa-lu des Tuan An-chieh* (Wiesbaden, 1966), p. 215.

cribed, together with the precise methods (involving use of magical weapons) by which they were destroyed. 'Pozhen', therefore, was not merely (for a Chinese) 'to break ranks' or 'to destroy a formation of troops'; it was also to destroy, by the craft of good Taoist magicians, a magic Formation set up by bad magicians.

The imperial family of the Tang, namely, the Li 李, notwithstanding their admixture with foreign blood (and with Turkic or Turco-Mongol blood in particular), recognized Lao-zi 老子 himself not merely as of their family, but as an imperial and national ancestor. In consequence, Taoist studies flourished during the Tang Dynasty. Furthermore, in view of the historical association of the title 'huang-di' with the success of Qin Shi-huang-di, and of 'pozhen' with the yet earlier overthrow of the decadent Shang by the pure and noble Zhōu 周 Dynasty, it is understandable that the ballet-title *Huang-di pozhen-yue*, should be particularly appropriate to the glorification of imperial military achievement in an age when interest in Taoism was strong.

History of pieces of this, or related, title

The full title *Huang-di pozhen-yue* does not, however, occur in Chinese sources, so far as we have been able to discover; there is no such entry, for example, in the great compendium *Peiwen yunfu* 佩文韻府 of 1711. But a list of titles of pieces of music played at the Chinese Court, preserved in the *Jiaofang-ji* 教坊記 (756),[6] includes both a 'Pozhen-yue' and a 'Pozhen-zi' 破陣子 (= 'Destroying the formation(s)', where 'zi' is an enclitic). Although the title *Huang-di pozhen-yue* seems not to be known as such to Chinese sources, a similar title, *Qin-wang pozhen-yue*, occurs in the *New Tang History*[7] (Gimm, op.cit., p. 214) (see later).

In the section on the Court Music of the Tang in the *Tong Dian* 通典, completed in 801,[8] a 'pozhen-yue' is cited as one of four items in the Banquet Music; furthermore, it is stated to be a piece from the Standing Division of the Court Music (Gimm, op.cit., p. 133), performed by standing musicians in a mixed ensemble that included both ritual and 'barbaric' instruments, the latter being largely the instrumentarium of Kuchā. This piece glorified the victory of the Taizong Emperor in 660. By the time of the Xuanzong Emperor, Ming Huang (713–56), it had become a war-dance (with 120 dancers participating) and the first item in the list of pieces of the *New Banquet Music* (*Xin Yan-yue* 新燕樂) of the Tang. As Gimm notes (op.cit., p. 214), the fullest account of a Pozhen-yue is that given in the *New Tang History*;[9] but that account refers in fact to a 'Qin-wang pozhen-yue', that is: 'The King of Qin destroys the Formation(s)'. The dance is described in some detail, and the fact that the evolutions of the dancers were accompanied by a sung text is stated; but there is no indication of the musical form of this piece, and the text seems not to have survived in Japanese sources. (An alternative title: 'Dance of the Seven Virtues' (*Qi-de wu* 七德舞), is also mentioned.) This piece is said to have arisen originally among the troops of the Taizong Emperor, after his defeat of the bandits of Liu Wuzhou 劉武周 in 620, at the time when the former was still known as 'The King of Qin'. On his ascending the throne in that same year, the piece came to be regularly performed at Court receptions. Thirteen years later, as already mentioned, the emperor is credited with devising a choreographic programme for the Pozhen-yue dance (p. 16).

As Gimm observes, the performing tradition of the piece that celebrated Taizong's victory (that is, we may suppose, the *Shin-ō hajin-raku/Qin-wang pozhen-yue*) was already lost by 678; but the type of dance-piece appears to have survived in a number of different pozhen-yue.[10] Gimm further suggests that the Chinese generic title may have served as programme-title for non-Chinese pieces, composed in Japan. The musical idiom of the surviving *Ō-dai hajin-raku* is in no way Japanese, however.

That a hajin-raku/pozhen-yue of some kind was known in Japan already in 752 is attested by the survival of eight items of apparel (and one length of cloth), worn on the occasion of a Pozhen-yue performance during the Eye-Opening Ceremony for the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji (*Daibutsu kaigen-e* 大佛開眼會) in that year. These

[6] j. 1, pp. 3, 5. ed. *Tsongshu jicheng*, vol. 2726.

[7] *Xin Tang Shu* 新唐書 j. 21, p. 3676b.

[8] *Tong Dian* 通典, j. 144, pp. 754–5; see Gimm, op.cit., p. 121.

[9] *Xin Tang Shu*, j. 21, p. 3676b.

[10] Kishibe, Shigeo 岸辺成雄: *Tōdai ongaku no rekishiteki kenkyū* 唐代音樂の歷史的研究, Tokyo, vol. 1, 2, p. 384f., p. 370/1.

items bear ink-inscriptions on the fabric itself, stating their nature. They are preserved in the Shōsōin and have been listed (some are illustrated in photographic plates) in the course of a study of inscriptions on ancient fabrics by Matsushima Yorimasa.[11]

The oldest surviving musical score of a hajin-raku, and at that a score of a *Shin-ō hajin-raku*, is to be found in the Sino-Japanese manuscript for five-stringed lute known as the *Gogen kin-fu* 五絃琴譜 of 842.[12] The piece consists of a single movement in the *Taishiki-chō* 太食調 modal group (mixolydian on E); but there is no resemblance (other than modality) between this and the Shin-ō hajin-raku in later Tōgaku-manuscripts. Nor does either of these two versions bear any musical resemblance to *Ō-dai hajin-raku* in the Ichikotsu-chō modal group.

It seems possible that this vast suite is that very *Pozhen-yue* which formed the first item of the *New Banquet Music* in the time of the Xuanzong Emperor.[13] This is indeed stated to be so in the thirteenth-century (*c.* 1231) *Kyōkunshō* 教訓抄 (maki 2, p. 196).[14] It is certain that the piece was known and played at the Japanese Imperial Court very soon after the return of that mission to China of 838, in which Ōto no Kiyogami 大戸清上 had been 'Head of Music' (Marett, op.cit., p. 17 inset), and in the course of which Fujiwara no Sadatoshi 藤原貞敏 took lute-lessons. The evidence for this statement, as given in *Kyōkunshō*, is: that during the Jōwa 承和 period (834–47) (in the reign of the Emperor Ninmyō 仁明 — the mission returned to Japan in 841), the Chūnagon Morokuzu 中納言諸葛 received the imperial command to fix the length of the *jo/xu* movement of that suite (the *Prelude*). The reason for this was that an unnamed dance-student (dance-*master* according to the *Ryūmeishō* 龍鳴抄 (1133), sent[15] to China (presumably to learn the choreography of this (and other?) dance-suites) had forgotten the last eight periods of the *Prelude* at the time of his return (see later, p. 20). The *Ryūmeishō*-account includes more or less the same material, but does not give the firm reference to the Jōwa period. Moreover, *Kyōkunshō* alludes to a tradition that it was Awata no Michimaro 粟田道麿 who 'brought over the Hajin-raku piece to this court', though this attribution is queried. The dates of this particular member of the Awata family have not been determined; but a certain Awata no Mahito 粟田真人,[16] ambassador with a Japanese mission in 701, is described in the Chinese *Old Tang History* (*Jiu Tang Shu* 舊唐書) as 'fond of reading the classics and histories and refined in appearance' — evidently a man of exceptional interest in, and sympathy with, Chinese culture (from a *Chinese* source, such a favourable comment is quite exceptional). The possibility exists, then, that Michimaro was a son of Mahito. *Gakka-roku* 樂家錄, volume 31, states that Michimaro lived in the reign-period of Emperor Monmu 文武 (697–706); but a note in the *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系 edition of *Kyōkunshō* extends the time of his *floruit* from the reign of Emperor Tenmu 天武 (673–86) into the reign-period of Emperor Genmyō 元明 (707–15), and adds that he died in 719. However, *Nihon kodai jinmei jiten* 日本古代人名字典 states that he was nominated *Gon no chūjō* 權中將

[11] Matsushima, Yorimasa 松島順正: *Shōsōin ko retsu meimon shūsei* 正倉院古裂銘文集成, in *Shoryōbu kiyō* 書陵部紀要 (Archives and Mausoleum Division. Imperial Household Agency), No. 2. March 1952. See Appendix, pp. 2, 3.

[12] Rembrandt F. Wolpert, 'A ninth-century score for five-stringed lute', in *Musica Asiatica 3*, pp. 107–35 (1981). p. 123

[13] Harich-Schneider's dismissal of this and other 'assumptions' as 'groundless' (*A History of Japanese Music*, p. 150) is surely too severe a judgement, for their source is not merely tradition, preserved in the Japanese handbooks, but the Chinese historical sources themselves.

[14] Hans Eckhardt, *Das Kokonchomonshū des Tachibana Narisue als musikgeschichtliche Quelle* (Wiesbaden, 1956), p. 337f.

[15] Eckardt (op.cit., p. 337) in his translation fails to pick up the attributive perfective (*tsukawashitarishi*) that indicates he had been *sent* to China, but inserts the statement that he had acquired the piece in China — to be inferred, indeed, but not in the text. In connection with this passage, attention may be drawn to a grammatical oddity of the *Kyōkunshō* text, namely the insertion of what appears to be a superfluous lexigraph *toki/shi* (= time). Where the *Ryūmeishō* has straightforwardly: *Tō ni tsukawashitarishi mai no shi* (師) *kono kuni e kaerishi toki* (時)... 'At the time when the dance-master sent to Tang had returned to this country ...', Kyōkunshō has: 遣唐時儛生還本國時 ... Dr Wolpert and I favoured: 'At the time when the then dance-pupil sent to Tang had returned to this country ...' — implying that he later became a master-dancer (as indicated by the *Ryūmeishō*); but Dr D. E. Mills of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge, felt this gave too great a weight to a grammatical peculiarity in what is, after all, not a classical Chinese but a *kambun* text. He suggested: 'When at the time when missions were being sent to Tang, the dance-pupil returned to this country ...'. This reading seems to exclude, however, the plain statement of *Ryūmeishō* that the *dancer* had been sent to Tang.

[16] Penelope M. Herbert: 'Japanese embassies and students in T'ang China', Occasional Paper No. 4, Centre for East Asian Studies, University of Western Australia (1979). The Jiu Tang Shu reference in the Chung-hua shu-chü edition, Peking, 1975, is: 199A, p. 5340. The Xin Tang Shu/Hsin T'ang Shu reference is: j. 220, p. 6209.

(Deputy assistant — but purely honorific) and *Inaba no kami* 因幡守 (Governor of Inaba) in the eighth year of *Tempyōhōji* 天平寶字 (764); furthermore, according to this account he did not visit China; and the relationship between Awata no Mahito and Awata no Michimaro is not known. *Xin Tang Shu*[16] reports that Awata no Mahito returned to China at the beginning of the Kaiyuan period (713–42), but this is not confirmed by other sources. Another Japanese embassy of great importance was sent to China in 717[16] however. It is plain that the possibility of this piece having been acquired during the reign of the Xuanzong Emperor (713–56) exists, since no less than three Japanese missions were sent to the Chinese court during that period.[16]

In his version of the passage from *Kyōkunshō*, Eckardt does not translate the explicit 'ordered to be made' of the original, which implies that the piece was composed by imperial command in 713, when the Xuanzong Emperor assumed the imperium, or shortly afterwards. Eckardt also mentions that the title 'huang-di' was later used by Uygur princes of Ganzhou 甘州, so that (in his view) 'eine uigurische Herkunft des Werkes ist daher nicht ausgeschlossen'. The evidence suggests, however, that what has been preserved by the Japanese under the title *Ō-dai hajin-raku* is indeed the creation of Minghuang.

Preliminary comments on the structure of the suite

The suite is in three movements of different length. The progress of the dancers from their tiring-tent (to the left of the dance-stage) is accompanied by a *yusei/yousheng* 遊聲 (walking-tune, hence *Processional*). This is in binary metrical units, without punctuation by bass-drum beats. *Kyōkunshō* notes that the *Processional* consists of a single musical section (*jō/tie* 帖)[17] and both *Ryūmeishō* and *Kyōkunshō* note that the *Processional* is to be repeated as necessary until the dancers have taken up position. *Ryūmeishō* states that the number of repeats is not fixed; *Kyōkunshō* states that, in general, it is repeated from the beginning, but adds that there are two interpretations, not saying (however) what these are. It is of interest that the *Processional* consists of 50 binary units, even though without bass-drum beats. *Kyōkunshō*, however, mentions a tradition from Wanibe no Ōtamaro 和爾部大田麿 (798–865), a pupil of Ōto no Kiyogami,[18] that when the dancers have reached their allotted positions (*ritsutei* 立定) a single stroke on the bass-drum is executed. *Ryūmeishō* states that the *Processional* is 'blown' (*fuku* ふく) which may be no more than the transferred use (as in Chinese, of chui 吹) of 'blowing' for 'playing'; but *Kyōkunshō* states explicitly that it is played on the flute. Perhaps this implies that *Kyōkunshō* reflects a performance-tradition antedating the string-versions of *Jinchi-yōroku* and *Sango-yōroku*, and the mouth-organ version of 1244 (see later, p. 33): a flute-player could have processed with the dancers.

Within the Tōgaku-repertory, only two suites begin with a *Processional.* In most cases, the first movement is the *Prelude*: *jo/xu* 序 . Commonly, this lexigraph is used in the sense of a preface; but its original meaning is 'precedence', 'order', or orderly'. Here the *Prelude* consists of subsidiary periods that are multiples of binary units (each of two crotchet/quarternote beats), amounting from twelve to thirty-six beats, with a bass-drum stroke at the end of each such period. Again there is no regular division into measures of equal length; but in this movement, as in the *Processional*, the presence of a basic, binary, metrical unit will have facilitated the regular movements of the dancers, processing at first (in the yusei) and later dancing, as well as the co-ordinated ensemble of the musicians.

According to Kyōkunshō, the *Prelude* is unusual in that, while consisting of a single 'Section' only (unlike the following *ha/pò* 破), this Section has no less than three 'Half-Section'-markings. In other Tōgaku-movements of some length, it is common to signal the half-way mark by inserting the term *hanjō/bantie* 半帖 , usually following the end of the nth measure in a piece consisting of 2n measures; this nth measure will also end on the final of the mode. The statement in *Kyōkunshō* may be translated as follows: '(There are three Half-Sections.)[19] [The meaning, however, is that three 'Half-Sections' are marked by the insertion of the two lexigraphs: hanjō.] First Half-Section (sixteen drum-beats); middle Half-Section (four drum-beats); last Half-Section (ten drum-beats).' Clearly the term 'Half-

[17] Reasons for reading this lexigraph as 'tie' in Chinese, and for supposing that 帖 has been confused with 帳 (*jo/zhang* 'a tent, a screen or curtain, scrolls), are given in 'Some Chinese terms for musical repeats, sections, and forms, common to T'ang, Yüan, and Tōgaku 唐樂 scores', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxxiv, pp. 116, 117 (1971).

[18] See fn. 1, Dissertation, p. 32, Table I.

[19] Round brackets enclose annotations in the original; square brackets enclose translator's amplifications.

Section' is being used for sub-Sections of the movement of any size. How this extraordinary nomenclature has come about becomes clear in the light of the rest of the *Kyōkunshō* account. *Ryūmeishō* states the facts more directly and less mysteriously: '*Prelude*: 30 drum-beats. After 16 drum-beats a 'Half-Section' is marked. Originally there were 40 drum-beats. When the dance-master sent to Tang returned to this country, he had forgotten [the choreographic treatment of the last] eight drum-beats [periods]. In consequence, ten drum-beats [periods] were abolished. When there were 40 drum-beats [periods], the Half-Section was marked at the twentieth drum-beat. Now when there were 30 drum-beats [periods], the Chūnagon Morokuzu 諸葛 中内言 established a ['latter'] Half-Section of 14 drum-beat [periods] as being sufficient. The Half-Sections of music of all kinds are [in general] called 'nakara' ('middle'). This is not suitable [in this instance]. For this reason, it is as written.'

Kyōkunshō differs from this account in stating explicitly that it was the last eight drum-beat periods (of the dance to the *Prelude*-music) that were forgotten: 末八拍子, and in addition that the division into 16-4-10 drum-beat periods is the practice of 'this house' — that is, the Koma clan. (Koma was a region of ancient Korea; and the Koma clan was of Korean origin.) Moreover, the statement that the *Prelude* originally had 40 drum-beat periods came (according to *Kyōkunshō*) from *Ge-jū-go-i-ge* Owari no Muraji Hamanushi, Outer Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade 外從五位下尾張連濱主

In view of the statements in *Ryūmeishō* and *Kyōkunshō* regarding the shortening of the jo/xu in the Jōwa period, it is of particular interest that all four manuscripts transcribed in this fascicle mark a Half-Section after the sixteenth drum-beat (see, however, p. 48), that is, at a point that would have been halfway through a truncated *Prelude* of 32 drum-beat periods, with the last, forgotten, eight drum-beat periods removed. It is plain that, although the *dancer* had forgotten the choreography of the last eight drum-beat periods, the *Prelude* existed as a musical movement in 40 drum-beat periods in the Jōwa period. The 'Half-Section' marked at the fourth drum-beat period *after* the Half-Section at the sixteenth drum-beat is at the *twentieth* drum-beat from the beginning. This will have been the 'Half-Section' of the original movement in 40 drum-beat sections, and appropriately enough this Half-Section is marked, both in *Jinchi-yōroku* and *Sango-yōroku*, as 'old Half-Section' (*ko-hanjō/gu-bantie* 古半帖). The Half-Section following the sixteenth drum-beat is distinguished as 'centre' in KF/HSFR/RK (see p. 49) (*chū/zhong* 中), while that following the twentieth drum-beat is marked as 'rear' (*go/hou* 後). These two terms are also those for the two latter 'Half-Sections' in *Kyōkunshō*.

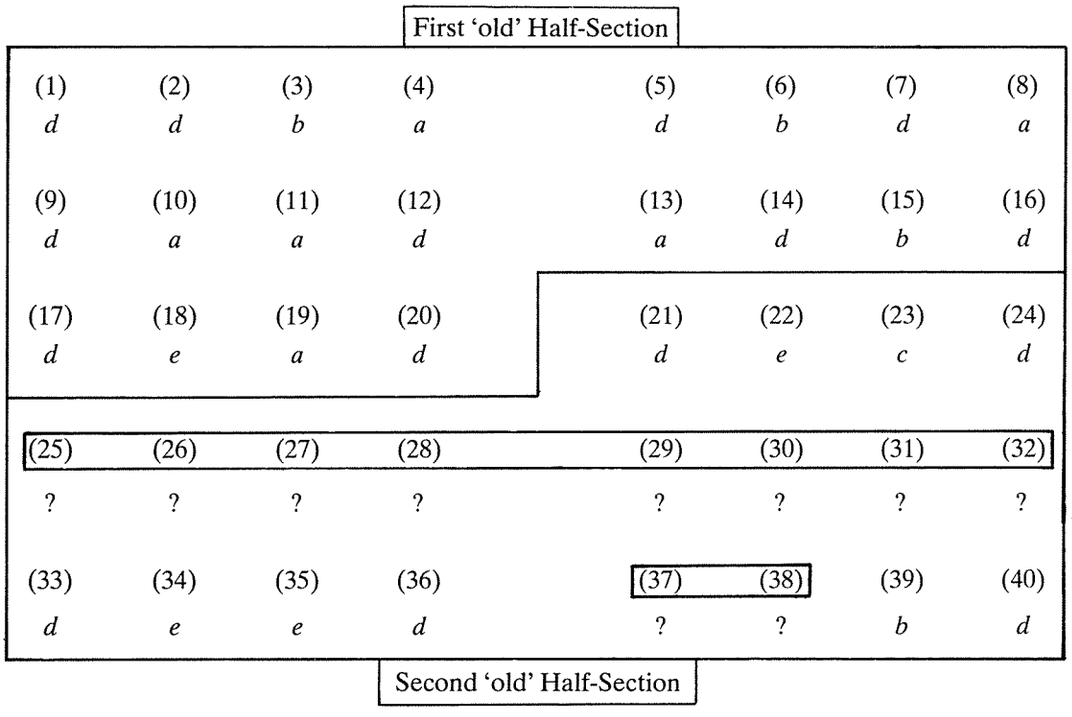
Since only the *choreography* (and not the *music*) of the last eight drum-beat periods was forgotten in the Jōwa period (leaving 32 drum-beat periods), the question arises why the movement was further shortened to 30 periods, the more so since the Half-Section had been fixed at the sixteenth drum-beat, rather than at the fifteenth. A look at the score (p. 48) shows why the fifteenth could not serve as 'Half-Section', namely, that the fifteenth period cadences on the sub-mediant (*b*); the sixteenth, cadencing on the final, is appropriate, however.

If two manuscripts completed *c.* 1171 exhibit traces of structural alteration described in sources dated 1133 and 1231 (see also p. 21) respectively, and furthermore if that alteration is explicable in terms of a re-organization stated to have occurred between 834 and 847, it is probable that such re-organization did indeed occur at that time. Furthermore, three of the four manuscripts transcribed in this fascicle preserve traces of the Half-Section markers mentioned in *Ryūmeishō* and *Kyōkunshō*. The rejection of two further drum-beat periods was presumably decided on grounds of musical balance.

Since each drum-beat occurs at a cadence, and since Half-Sections (as well as Sections) must end on the modal final, it seemed of interest to examine the sequence of final and subsidiary cadences throughout the *Prelude*. At the sixteenth drum-beat, the Half-Section closes on the final *d*, as does the 'old' Half-Section the twentieth drum-beat — as might be expected; but in the sequence of finals and subsidiary finals within both the first Half-Section and the truncated remains of the second Half-Section, certain unforeseen symmetries emerge, as shown below:

drum-beat:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
final, or subsidiary final:	*d*	*d*	*b*	*a*	*d*	*b*	*d*	*a*
	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	d	*a*	*a*	*d*	*a*	*d*	*b*	*d*
	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
	d	*e*	*a*	*d*	*d*	*e*	*c*	*d*
	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)			(29)	(30)
	d	*e*	*e*	*d*			*b*	*d*

First, it is evident that the sequence of cadences segments into clusters of four, each ending on the dominant or on the final. Secondly, within the 'old' Half-Section (from the beginning to drum-beat 20) the clusters are associated as two sets of two clusters + a single cluster. In the first eight, two clusters end on the dominant; in the second eight, two clusters end on the final. Furthermore, the sequence of 'finals' in the second cluster in the second eight is the reverse of the sequence of the second cluster in the first eight: *dbda* is reversed to give *adbd.* In view of the similar, but inverted, movement of *daad* and *deed*, one is tempted to suggest that the drum-beat sections from (20) onwards, retained when the movement was reduced to 30 such, should be numbered 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, and 40; and that an entire set of eight (25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32) was omitted, as shown below.



(Drum-beat sections (25)–(32), (37), and (38) are believed to have been removed in the ninth-century revision.)

The choice of the last two drum-beat sections for retention may have been due to the fact that they were, indeed, the two original concluding drum-beat sections; and it is to be noted that they match the sequence of cadential notes at (15) and (16), so that there is a further symmetry between the first and the last set of sixteen, with the two intervening clusters: *dead decd* balancing each other. It is striking that the superfinal *e* does not appear as subsidiary final until the last of the five clusters of four cadences in the first Half-Section (the 'old' Half-Section). In what remains of the second Half-Section it is used no less than three times in two successive clusters. Furthermore, the single occurrence of the subfinal *c* as cadence occurs in the second Half-Section.

The third movement, the *ha/po* 破 , is in six Sections — jō/tie. The name of the movement is the same word as the *ha* in hajin-raku/pozhen-yue, with the primary meaning of 'break'. One of the meaning extensions of the lexigraph is 'to begin', and we suggest that, as the name of a suite-movement, ha/po may be translated as *Broaching*. It has been suggested that the dance proper began with this movement,[20] but from the preceding account of the *Prelude*, it is certain that the dance began with the *Prelude*. Conceivably, the term derives from a Turkic idiomatic usage; in Western Turkish, for example, *kırık* ('broken') is used to indicate a measured song (*kırık hava*), as opposed to a song sung *senza misura — uzun hava* ('long song').

Virtually all comments in *Kyōkunshō* on the structure of the *Broaching* are already made in the earlier *Ryūmeishō*. The fact that each of the six jō includes 20 drum-beats establishes a dimensional relationship with the *Prelude* in its original form, since it originally consisted of two Half-Sections, each of twenty drum-beats. *Ryūmeishō* notes already in 1133 that, at the end of the first and second jō, three measures are played in the *Prelude*-manner (without kakko-beats), while at the end of the third and fourth jō, four measures are played in this manner. The measures are as a rule measures of six *kakko/jiegu* 羯 鼓 beats ($\frac{3}{2}$), but both eight- and four-beat measures are present according to *Ryūmeishō*. This is not, strictly speaking, in accordance with the scores, however. Each of the mouth-organ parts (p. 66) draws attention to changes from $\frac{3}{2}$ to $\frac{4}{2}$ in the first jō; but these changes are not marked in the string-parts. In the third jō, however, the mouth-organ parts indicate changes in two measures to $\frac{5}{4}$. Clearly, while changes in measure-length do indeed occur in the music, these are not changes from eight kakko-beats to four kakko-beats to the measure, as stated by *Ryūmeishō*. Such changes in measure-length (states *Ryūmeishō*) are to be called *dai-kyoku hyōshi/da-qu pai-zi* 'large-piece measure' — 'measure' in the general sense of metrics. We think it possible, however, that some of these changes in measure-length were introduced when transcription of the parts from older systems of mensural notation into the systems used in the mouth-organ and string-parts as we have them today was undertaken. It is certain, however, that at the time when *Ryūmeishō* was compiled, the scores in existence already showed such changes in measure-length. Our transcriptions into staff-notation show how failure of scribes to appreciate the operation of signs in the older type of mensural notation may have led to the appearance of measures of different length. This is only so, however, in the case of the measures of five kakko-beats, shown by the mouth-organ parts; the distinction between measures of eight and of six kakko-beats cannot be due to any scribal confusion.

The fifth and sixth jō (*Ryūmeishō* notes) are throughout in the *Prelude*-manner. They are in fact in binary units, with bass-drum-beats marked, but with no kakko-beats shown (marked by dots to the right of the tablature-signs that indicate pitches).

It is plain from the *Kyōkunshō* account of the *Broaching* of *Ō-dai haijin-raku*[21] that the musical text presented a number of anomalies already by the thirteenth century; indeed, *Kyōkunshō* cites authorities from the early eleventh century in passages that indicate the recognition, already at that time, of certain metrical irregularities. Even the *Ryūmeishō*'s account reveals that, although first to fourth Sections of the *Broaching* are, in general, in measures of six kakko-beats, there are also occasional measures of eight beats.

The *Kyōkunshō*'s account goes into greater detail. The heading: 'First Section' is followed by a sub-heading: *tai-shi(ōmune)* 大 旨 (= the main idea). After stating that this is a six kakko-beat piece, there come two qualifications: first, that the ninth and eleventh measures are of eight beats. This may be seen to be so from our score (p. 66). The laconic statements 'eight kakko' are in each instance amplified by the words *sando byōshi* 三 度 拍 子 (= three-times beats), that is, a percussion pattern of three beats: 𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥 𝅘𝅥 𝄽. In each eight-beat measure, the pattern is twice repeated. At the end of the first section, three measures are stated to be *danced* in the *Prelude*-like manner (see p. 67). Following this last statement, two names appear (in the *Zoku Gunsho-ruijū* ZGR edition); first Mitsusue 光 季 , followed by Masasue 雅 季 . The former relates presumably to Ue (上) no Mitsusue (1025–1112) of the Koma clan and Nara region, proficient on ryūteki and *Koma-bue* (狛 笛), dancer of the Left, and able percussionist. Masasue has not been identified, but the manuscript-facsimile of the *Kyōkunshō*, published in the *Nihon Koten Zensho* edition 日 本 古 典 全 書 NKZ, 1928, adds two further names, one unreadable, the other that of Koresue 惟 季 , presumably Ōga no Koresue

[20] Martin Gimm, op.cit., p. 227: 1. *Ju-p'o* 入 破

[21] As also from the Prefaces to the suite in the several manuscripts (see pp. 35ff).

大 神 惟 季 (1026–94), himself a notable flute-player. These names head a secret comment to the effect that at these two points (measures 9 and 11), the kakko is in the *komebyōshi* 籠 拍 子 (= basket-measure) 'as in the third Section of *Sogō(kō)/Suhe-xiang*' 蘇 合 香 (= 'Liquid-amber incense').

The second Section is likewise stated to be a piece in measures of six kakko-beats and with three final measures danced in the *Prelude*-like manner; but then follows reference to a secret version (*hisetsu* 秘 説), according to the secret score (*hi-fu* 秘 譜) of Mitsutoki 光 時 (1087–1159), also a member of the Ue family. This secret is that the seventeenth measure has four kakko-beats. To this comment is added that, to the thirteenth measure seven kakko-beats, and to the fifteenth measure (likewise), seven kakko-beats are to be counted. The passage concludes, however, with the admonition: 'but do not use it' 但 不 用 之 or even 'to be rejected'. There now follows a passage in flute notation corresponding to that which begins on the *twelfth* bass-drum beat (see our score, p. 69) and continues until the end of the *fifteenth* measure. We believe that, both in the NKZ edition and in the ZGR edition, '17' is a scribal error for '12' (7 and 2 are occasionally confused in Chinese documents). The marking of kakko- and taiko-beats in this quotation makes no sense, however, either in NKZ or ZGR.

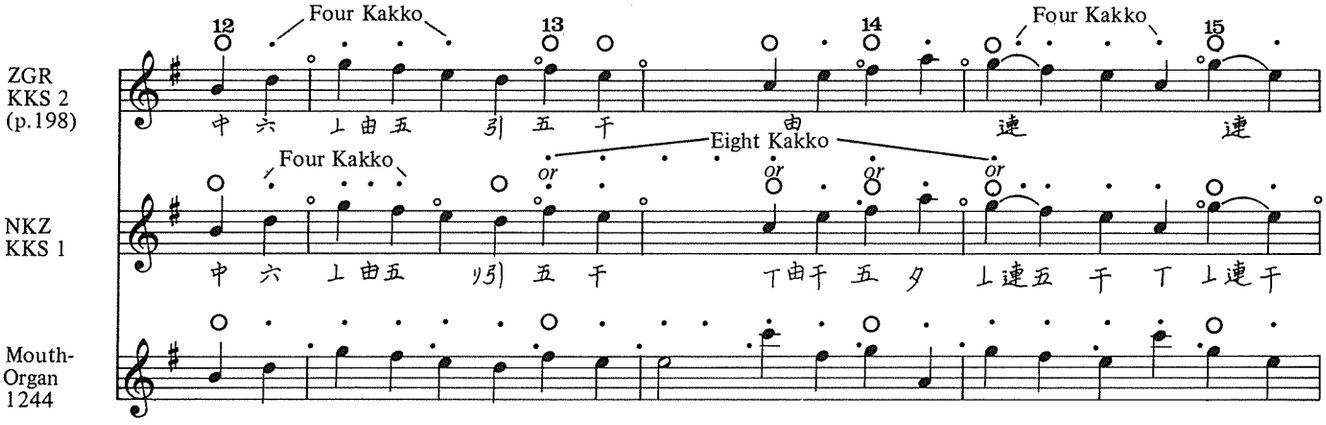
Below are given transcriptions of the same quotation from the two editions, together with the corresponding passage from the older mouth-organ part in our score:

How this passage is to be equated with the preceding statements is not immediately obvious, but becomes clearer in the treatment of the corresponding passage (p. 24) in Section 4 (pp. 75, 76). For the moment, however, the passages present several features deserving of comment. First, in support of our interpretation of the function of intracolumnary dots (∘) and *hiku* (引) as markers of binary segments (pp. 28, 29), three instances of the use of both together occur in the NKZ version, and two in ZGR. It is of interest that this flute melody-line is somewhat more decorated than that of the mouth-organ manuscripts of 1244 and 1303; and that in measure 14, the sequence of notes in the quotation is closer to that in the mouth-organ manuscript of 1244 than to that of the other manuscripts. Unexplained is the extra bass-drum beat in measure 15. In NKZ, some attempt seems to have been made to mark and count kakko-beats; but in fact even the hiku-signs and the intracolumnary dots are marked with small beat-dots, and no satisfactory equation between statements in the text and the musical text is obvious.

Regarding the third Section, *Kyōkunshō* draws attention to two 5-beat measures, namely, the tenth and twelfth measures. Mitsusue's secret score is again cited, this time as authority for a statement that *five* concluding measures are played in the *Prelude*-like manner rather than *four* as stated in the main body of the text — which indeed emphasises that the version with five such measures is never used.

A secret version of the fourth Section states that the thirteenth measure has either four or eight kakko-beats; the fourteenth, eight or four; and the fifteenth, four. A division of the string-parts into groups of eight and four by the archaic *ichi*-sign (p. 28) survives in JCYR and SGYR, and the operation, in the mouth-organ parts, of a reduplication-sign (following the last note of measure 13) corresponds to the same unequal division into 8 and 4. The suggestion that measure 15 may consist of four beats would arise were measure 14 to be extended to eight beats by absorbing the first two beats of measure 15. These are alternative conditions, however, they cannot all be operative simultaneously.

This 'secret version' is followed again by a quotation in flute-tablature, but this time with both 4- and 8-membered groups of kakko-beats marked as such. Here again are the two passages, transcribed from NKZ, ZGR, together with the corresponding passage from our score of Section 4.



The passage is essentially the same as that cited previously. This time, however, both editions omit the duplication-sign on *e″* at the end of the first complete measure (our barring); nevertheless, the NKZ facsimile is aware of a version in which the *e″* occupies three kakko-beats. This version gives alternative metrical indications to right and left of the column of primary tablature signs. Again, whereas in the previous quotation, kakko-dots were (as we would argue) correctly placed, both on mordent-signs (由) and on the slur (連 *ren/lian:* to connect, to join), where the following note does not carry a dot and its value is probably halved, here they are placed, in some instances, wrongly on both. The sign ren, though listed and defined in the *Hakuga no fue-fu* (pp. 13, 16) does not occur in the notations in that manuscript. In *Hakuga* it is elucidated by two lexigraphs: 動 指 *dō shi (yubi o ugokasu)/dong zhi* (= move the finger); but the precise meaning of the phrase is not known. The sign itself is not used in modern Tōgaku flute-notation, though the first element of the explanation: 動 (= move) is used, apparently to indicate a legato movement to an upper, adjacent note and back, yielding a gracing of the main note.

The quotations in flute-tablature make plain that, by 1231, musicians were uncertain about the use of certain signs. In both passages (Section 2 and Section 4), and in both editions, hiku is used in the archaic manner as a binary segmental marker on several occasions, even though intracolumnary dots are present. Furthermore, the practice of writing larger, solid dots for bass-drum beats, and smaller, solid dots for kakko-beats, seems to have led to confusion between the two; both passages, in both editions, exhibit supernumerary bass-drum beats. Moreover, the editors evidently found it difficult to reconcile verbal text and musical text because of uncertainty in counting kakko-dots. The concept of the number of kakko-dots was used in two ways: (a) to make a statement about the number of 'beats' to the measure — in crotchets/quarter-notes — say four, six, or eight; (b) in defining the pattern of kakko-beats — say seven, in an eight-beat measure, where the bass-drum beat completed the eight. In modern practice, the kakko is active, in one way or another, on every beat in the measure, once a piece has properly got under weigh; but the person who attempted to interpret the *Kyōkunshō* text in terms of the flute-score was plainly uncertain whether to count a 'kakko-beat' on the 'taiko-beat' or not.

What led to the reported ambiguity of the passage in question, in Sections 2 and 4, was, in all probability, the cadence on *e″* — a rare example of a cadence of two-beat duration *not* coinciding with the bass-drum beat. It is also very unusual to find a note-repetition sign operative on the last note of a measure. The statements relating to measures of different lengths: 4 + 8 or 8 + 4 beats, are alternative groupings made, presumably, in an attempt to rationalize anomalous phrasing. The attempt to look at the metrical structure in terms of 4- and 8-beat units reflects perhaps a memory of a type of large-scale ternary metre: 4 + 4 + 4, which apparently survives (as shown by Marett, Dissertation, 1976, p. 240) in the *Prelude* of the two-movement suite *Chōsei-raku/Changsheng-yue* 長生樂 'Long life': ‖ 8 + 4 | 8 + 4 | 8 + 4 | 8 + 4 | 8 + 4 ‖ , in the version of the Hakuga no fue-fu. Such large-scale ternary structures are known from Indian music of the eleventh century: in *Pānikā* songs from the *Sarasvatīhrdayālamkāra* of Nānyadeva, for example (D. R. Widdess, 1979, unpublished observations).

As shown by Elizabeth Markham (unpublished observations, 1979), however, the lute-version of this piece in its *Saibara*-form (SGYR) is in twelve measures of eight beats, rather than in six measures of (8 + 4) beats. Moreover,

the flute-notation of the *Hakuga no fue-fu* can be read as it stands — respecting the position of the second drum-beat — to yield this mensural result, provided it be accepted that binary phrases, defined by the marker ichi, may be one, two, or *three*, binary units in length. Phrases of 3 × 2 beats between intracolumnary dots in the mouth-organ parts, as well as (though more rarely) between surviving ichi in the lute-part, are indeed to be seen in our transcriptions in this fascicle.

From many points of view, the most remarkable, and the most important Sections of the *Broaching*, in relation to our views on the metrics of Tang Music in general and of *Preludes* in particular, are Sections 5 and 6. The two main pieces of information to be derived from these movements are: (a) that *Prelude*-like pieces were strictly measured; (b) that, on occasion, pieces in the *Prelude*-style were to be played *accelerando* and even at a pace to be described as 'very quickly'.

The texts are not entirely clear, however, in their description of the way in which these last two Sections are to be played in relation to each other, since the verb *tsuzukeru* (*Kyōkunshō*) means not only 'without a break' but also 'in succession' and 'consecutively'. The *Ryūmeishō*, however, states firmly that while the two Sections are executed consecutively there is a short pause between them. In regard to the changes to the *Prelude*-style at the ends of Sections 1 to 4, it is plain — from the language of prefatory notes to the several Sections in JCYR and SGYR — that the passages in *Prelude*-manner are measured: at the ends of Sections 1 and 2, three measures with bass-drum beats (though without kakko-beats) are prefaced by the instruction: 'lengthened *Prelude*-like' (序 引); at the ends of Sections 3 and 4, four measures are prefaced with the same instruction. Furthermore, we are of the opinion that these last measures of all four Sections are measures of six beats, notwithstanding the disappearance of kakko-dots from the string-parts as soon as preludial-lengthening is announced, and from the mouth-organ parts as soon as the sign 序 (1244) or 延 (1303) is inserted. The fact that *Kyōkunshō*, speaking of Sections 5 and 6, uses the idiom: 'danced in the *Prelude*-manner' (*Jo ni mau* 序 二 舞) may also be taken to imply that a measure is maintained, to which the dance continues.

Prefacing Section 5, JCYR refers to: 'The *Prelude*-like lengthened fifth Section' but SGYR states: 'The fifth section is lengthened in the *Prelude*-manner; but play it quickening'. (For the *kambun* texts see p.37). Again, preceding the sixth Section, SGYR states: 'Do not make a space between the two Sections 5 and 6. Play them consecutively; but play the end of Section 6 very quickly.' These instructions, so emphatically contradicting the admonition 'slow' (延) applied to the *Prelude*-manner elsewhere, are unambiguously stated, using other terms, by another manuscript already mentioned, namely, the *Ruisō-chiyō* (see p.36) of *c.* 1261. In that manuscript, and prefacing Section 5, is the instruction: 'From the beginning pluck dragging wearily [that is, play slowly]; afterwards, hurriedly' 自 初 曳 累 操 後 急 . Section 6 gives the same instruction, but with the slight change: 'afterwards play it hurriedly' 後 急 彈 之 .Elsewhere, *Ruisō-chiyō* defines 'pluck dragging wearily: this is *Prelude*-like lengthening' 曳 累 操 是 序 引 也 . Furthermore, the same manuscript offers alternative instructions relating to these two Sections: 'At the end play very quickly' 末 殊 早 彈 or 'do not reject playing it quickly'. 不 置 速 彈 之

Our choice of signatures $\frac{3}{2}$ and $\frac{4}{2}$ rather than $\frac{6}{4}$ and $\frac{8}{4}$ for the measured Sections is guided by the fact that intracolumnary dots (as hollow or solid dots) commonly mark off binary segments within the larger measure — three or four such respectively.

Repetition of motives links together yusei and jo, and measured and prelude-like portions of Sections 1–4 of the ha. In the entirely prelude-like jō 5, and 6, of the *Broaching*, however, only fragments of motives recalling those in yusei and jō appear, and the codas of these two sections differ both from those of Sections 1–4 and from each other.

Throughout the prelude-like portions of the suite, a particular cadential formula recurs, on occasion in initial, medial, and final, positions. It makes use of the superfinal (*e*) and final (*d*) in the following sequence: *edededed*. This formula recalls one that frequently occurs in Chinese guqin[22] 古 琴 pieces. It occurs three times in different octaves in what is perhaps the most tremendous of all pieces in the qin-repertory, *Xiao Xiang shuiyun* 瀟 湘 水 雲 'Water and cloud on the Rivers Xiao and Xiang'. This piece has been transcribed into staff-notation from the performance of Mr Wu Jinglüe 吳 景 略 and published in staff-notation.[23] The tablature-signs for the cadence

[22] The seven-stringed zither.

[23] *Guqin qu ji, Yinyue chubanshe*, Peking 古 琴 曲 集 , 音 樂 出 版 社 , 北 京 1962.

are: 𠀋 𠀋 . The first indicates a chord of open first string and third string stopped by the ring-finger of the left hand at the tenth *hui* 徽 . (The hui are the harmonic nodes.) With the ring-finger still stopping the third string, the thumb of the left hand strikes that string, eliciting a note a tone above G: A. The thumb then plucks this same string, now eliciting G. This sequence of actions is repeated; but this time the percussing and plucking action of the thumb is repeated twice in sequence. Finally, the chord is sounded for a third time, terminating the cadential formula. In staff-notation the sequence is:

I have followed the rhythm adopted by my late friend, Mr Ja Fushi 查阜西 , in his performance, recorded for the Library of Congress. Mr Wu adds a further small rhythmic decoration; but Mr Ja's execution is that commonly followed. The principal feature is the threefold repetition, indicated by the sign for 'pulling up' (referring to the plucking-movement of the thumb) over the sign for the chord, together with the abbreviated characters for 'three sounds': 三聲 . In fact, a third character is to be understood, namely, 罨 *yan* ('to cover' — abbreviated to 𠙵). This refers to the production of a sound by percussing the string with the thumb. In Mr Ja's recorded performance, he adds to the sombre effect of the formula's first appearance by reducing the descending step to a semi-tone; but at the other two occurrences the step is a tone, so that the melodic movement of this cadential formula corresponds exactly to the formula so frequently used in prelude-like sections of this suite that dates, as we believe, from the Tang Dynasty.

Subsidiary cadences, also falling in character, sometimes decorated with an appoggiatura, also occur in this suite from submediant to dominant (*b* to *a*, or *c* to *b* to *a*) and from mediant to superfinal (*f*♯ to *e*, or *g* to *f*♯ to *e*).

Notes on transcription and associated problems

The work of transcription of this suite has been shared between Dr Wolpert (lute and zither), Dr Markham (zither and lute), and myself (mouth-organ and zither). The final version of the score was made by all three of us, working together, with the draft transcriptions for all four instruments, displayed as from p. 40 onwards, before us. It is our intention to publish instructions for the transcription of all tablatures in use in the manuscripts here transcribed in due course. For the present, however, attention will be confined to three areas: modality and key, mensural notation, and some features of the mouth-organ scores.

(a) *Modality and Key*

At first glance, the reader will be perplexed to see mouth-organ parts written with a key-signature of one sharp, while lute- and zither-parts bear a signature of three sharps. The decision to let these conflicting signatures stand has been taken in the light of information deriving from Dr Wolpert's complete translation of the extended prefaces to *Sango-yōroku* and *Jinchi-yōroku* respectively, and from the testing of Moronaga's tunings on lute and zither by himself and Dr Markham.[24] From these documents it emerges that Moronaga's scores may represent a major attempt to simplify, and to rationalize, tuning-procedures in relation to mode-key requirements; above all they represent a major attempt to make clear distinctions between *tunings* and *mode-keys*. From the tunings specified for the group of pieces in the Ichikotsu-chō mode-key, it is certain that, by a deliberate choice between alternatives (as shown by the tablature-signs used) a decision had been taken to substitute a lydian octave-species, with D as final, for the original mixolydian species that characterized the corresponding *Yue-diao* in Tang-Chinese use. Let it be emphasized by

[24] The work of Dr Wolpert and Dr Markham will be published in full elsewhere. Dr. Y. Mitani also examined the tunings specified by Moronaga in the first scroll of *Jinchi-yōroku* while working with me in Cambridge in 1975 (see 三谷陽子：箏の調絃法の變遷 in *Articles on Asian Music,* Festschrift for Dr Chang Sa-hun, The Korean Musicological Society, Seoul, 1977), but the *modality* to be achieved remains indeterminate, since there is no explicit statement as to the degree of sharpening by pressure to be practised. By contrast, the modality of the lute-parts when tuned for Ichikotsu-chō is explicit in *Sango-yōroku.*

repetition: with the tuning specified for biwa, the performer could perfectly well have played in a mixolydian mode-key on D; but tablature signs used include throughout both that for G♯ and that for C♯. Only rarely do short passages occur where G♮ is specified; C♮ is never specified. This means that, very occasionally, modality changes from lydian to ionian. The choice of a lydian octave is clearly deliberate. On the other hand, the mouth-organ tablature-signs are an unambiguous pitch-notation; throughout the suite, C♮ is used, even though its use frequently necessitates leaps of a ninth, since a C♮ -pipe is absent from the lower octave on the shō used in Japan in Heian times. Indeed, though four other pipes are known to have existed, to be substituted in the set of pipes as mode-key changes required,[25] these did not include a C♮ in the lower octave. The mixolydian character of the mouth-organ part is therefore as deliberate as is the lydian character of the parts for lute and zither.

The reason or reasons for Moronaga's implied decision to transpose pieces in the Ichikotsu mode-key (mixolydian) to a lydian series is not known; but a series of documents shows that in so doing he was only extending a tendency already manifest. In the *Gogen kin-fu* (p. 9) for example, as emerges from Dr Wolpert's transcriptions (he is the first scholar to achieve a complete transcription of this unique score, notated in a unique system of tablature), Ichikotsu-chō is indeed a mode-key group for pieces in a mixolydian mode on D; that is to say, it is (as it was in Tang-China) a *shang* 商 mode. In the *Fushimi-no-miya hon biwa-fu* (p. 9, fn. 11), however, of the four nominally mixolydian, 'major' preludes with final A (*Fan Fengxiang Diao* 返風香調), only the first is wholely so: numbers II, III, and IV (see Wolpert, op.cit. 1977, pp. 156–160), exhibit occasional sharpening of the sub-final, and IV, occasional sharpening of the sub-dominant. Again, in Moronaga's score *Sango-yōroku,* only *Taishiki-chō* 太食調 (in Tang-China, mixolydian on D) remains throughout mixolydian; *Sō-jō* 雙調 (in Tang-China, mixolydian on G) has likewise become lydian. Thus between the manuscript for 5-stringed lute of 842 together with the *Biwa-fu* of 838 (920/1), and *Sango-yōroku* (*c.* 1171), a pronounced shift away from original mixolydian modal characteristics had occurred. Such a shift had also taken place with respect to another mode-key, the *Sui-chō/Shui-diao* 水調; in the *Biwa-fu*, this mode-key is shown by its tuning-testing piece (see Wolpert, op.cit., p. 126*b*) to have been (in all probability) a mixolydian mode on G, since the sub-final is F♮. In *Hakuga no fue-fu* (p. 13, fn. 19), as Marett (op.cit., p. 7ff) showed, the final of pieces in this mode is A. In the Tang-Chinese mode-key system, Yang (1953, pp. 178–86) noted that 'Shui' ('water') was an alternative name for the *Xiezhi* 歇指 mode-key on B; this latter, as shown both by Yang and by Picken,[26] was a mixolydian mode. Hayashi[27] commented that the Sui/Shui mode-key was a tone higher in Chinese, as compared with Japanese, practice. The presence (in the *Fushimi-no-miya hon biwa-fu*) of a Sui/Shui tuning, together with a tuning-piece that includes, though hexatonic, a flattened seventh, with final G (the fourth, C, is lacking from the tuning-piece), suggests that even in China the *key* of the Shui mode was variable. Clearly, however, whether the final is B, A, or G, the Sui/Shui mode was mixolydian. Moronaga's tunings and usage, however, show this mode also either as lydian (with sharpened fourth) or ionian (with natural fourth), and in both instances the sub-final is sharpened.

Here again, therefore, an originally mixolydian mode has changed, in Moronaga's twelfth-century recension, to a lydian (or partly ionian) condition. This is the more remarkable since it was recognized in his day that the fundamental of the system — the Chinese note *Huangzhong*/Japanese *Ōshiki* 黃鐘 in the absolute-pitch system — was C; so that, beginning from D as it does, the Ichikotsu-chō begins on the *sō/shang* 商 degree of the basic heptatonic series. Perhaps Moronaga was influenced by the Japanese habit of naming degrees of modal octaves, irrespective of octave-species, by their names in the basic, lydian sequence that starts on C. Perhaps, for this reason, he restored a lydian series, with sharpened fourth and seventh, because the first degree was named *kyū/gong* 宮 — as indeed it is in the Chinese basic heptatonic set, the *Huangzhong gong-diao* 黃鐘宮調

[25] Leo M. Traynor and Shigeo Kishibe, 'On the four unknown pipes of the shō (mouth-organ) used in Ancient Japanese court music', *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū 9* (Tokyo, 1951), pp. 26–53.

[26] L. E. R. Picken, 'T'ang music and musical instruments', in *T'oung Pao*, vol. 55, pp. 74–122. See p. 98. In this table, E should be deleted from *Lin-chung chiao*, B from *Hsien-lü tiao*; and B should be inserted at the end of the *Pan-shê tiao* line.

[27] Hayashi, Kenzō, *'Hakuga fue-fu kō* 博雅笛譜考, in *Gagaku — Kogaku-fu no kaidoku* 雅樂——古樂譜の解読 (*Tōyō ongaku sensho* 東洋音樂選書 (十))(Tokyo, 1969), pp. 285–308. See p. 295.

Be that as it may, the consequences of Moronaga's revision echo through Tōgaku-performance to this day. In his transcriptions from performance of pieces in Ichikotsu-chō, Shiba Sukehiro 芝 祐 泰 [28] transcribes the lute parts with a key-signature of two sharps (F♯ , C♯) and marks all Gs as sharpened by an accidental.[29] His so doing was presumably determined by a desire to avoid an anomalous key-signature of three sharps for a piece with D as final. Examination of the Meiji *Sentei-fu* for biwa shows that the tablature-signs for F♯ , C♯ , and G♯ are in use throughout in pieces in Ichikotsu-chō. Again from Shiba's full-score it can be seen that ryūteki/longdi 龍 笛 (transverse flute) and hichiriki invariably sound C♮ and G♮ , respectively, against the sharps of the lute; and the roots of the mouth-organ chords on C and G are likewise natural. (It is to be remembered that the 'root' of each of these cluster-chords is not — in these two instances — the lowest note of the cluster, respectively F♯ below G, and A below C).

In view of these facts, it seems probable that, even in Moronaga's day, clashes between wind and strings, due to their playing in different modes, were already tolerated. Of course, the lute-players could always have *played* C♮ or G♮ , whenever C♯ or G♯ appeared in the tablature, when playing with the winds; but there is no evidence for the practice of such a *musica ficta*. Similarly, the zither-player could have sharpened his B and his F♯ each by a semitone only, yielding C and G; the only instruction he receives from the tablature is to apply pressure to the string beyond the movable bridge before plucking the string.

Knowing as we do, then, what the Yue mode-key was in Tang China,[30] we must make just this change in the key-signature of the string parts, ignoring sharps on C and G, if we wish to play mouth-organ, lute, and zither together. For the zither-player there is no problem, as just indicated: it is simply a matter of pressing the appropriate string (beyond the movable bridge) so as to secure only a semitone rise in pitch (from B to C; from F♯ to G.) In Shiba's scores again, the zither sounds B against the lute's C♯ , and F♯ against the lute's G♯ . The Meiji and modern tuning of the zither corresponds to Moronaga's *Ichikotsu-sei-chō* 壹 越 性 調 tuning, and in this tuning C♯ and G♯ , absent from the series of open strings, are today unobtainable, since players no longer use the left hand to tighten the strings.

Since Moronaga's comprehensive modal revisions of the string-parts led, apparently, already in the twelfth century, to a condition of polymodality in ensemble, this surely opened the way to exploitation of variable intonation in the flexible winds (flute and reed-pipe) as a characteristic aspect of modern Tōgaku-performance.

(b) *Mensural notation*

An important step in the successful transcription of *Hakuga no fue-fu* by Dr Marett (op.cit., 1977, pp. 18, 21) was the realization that the short, horizontal stroke: 一 , written to the right of the main column of tablature-signs, and to be read as 'the character 'one'' according to Hakuga: 'ichi' (= 'one') (though originally it probably had no connection with that numeral), is a metrical sign as well as a phrase-mark. (It is defined by Hakuga as 'interrupt the breath'.) When placed after odd-numbered beats within the measure — each otherwise unqualified, large tablature-sign represents a note of one beat's duration — this sign acts as a prolongation-sign, doubling the length of the preceding note. Furthermore, a note followed by *hiku/yin* 引 ('draw out' as a bow-string; hence 'lengthen') is also to be sustained for two beats. If 引 , following beats one or five in a measure of eight beats, is followed by 一 , the note preceding is to be held for four beats. This type of metrical reading, as Marrett first discovered, is termed *mabyōshi* 間 拍 子 'between-beats' or 'beats between' — presumably in reference to the effective interpolation of durational units by prolongation between two points.

Since hiku 引 itself implied a two-beat metrical unit (*not* followed by a phrasing break) when following a tablature-sign, it is not difficult to see that this lexigraph might itself come to be used as a purely metrical sign,

[28] Shiba, Sukehiro, *Gosen-fu ni yoru Gagaku-sōfu* 五 線 譜 に よ る 雅 樂 総 譜 (4 volumes, Tokyo, 1972).

[29] See, for example, his transcription of the jo from the daikyoku *Shunnōden* (Ichikotsu-chō, *maki* 3, pp. 291ff). A single G♮ is shown by parallel passages to be an error.

[30] Why the Japanese always refer to the Ichikotsu/Yiyue mode-key has not, to our knowledge, been explained. From its final, Ichikotsu-chō is certainly Tang-Chinese Yue-diao. Perhaps this mode-key was singled out as *ichi-kotsu/yi-yue* 一 越(or with the less corruptible character 壹 = 1) because it is indeed the first (一) in the Tang set of mixolydian mode-keys.

indicating the segmentation of a column of tablature-signs (notes) into binary units. It was Dr Jonathan Condit who, in the course of an examination of pieces in *Ko sō-fu* — the early zither-manuscript (*c.* 1000) preserved in Tenri University Library — first realized that what appeared to be superfluous hiku-lexigraphs — superfluous since, in the light of Moronaga's scores, written *c.* 1171, of the same pieces, the preceding note was *not* to be lengthened — were functioning as binary markers. In this manuscript (*Ko sō-fu*), some sign with this function is indeed essential for the mensural interpretation of the tablature, since even the bass-drum beat is not shown, save in a single piece. At the time when Dr Condit transcribed for me[31] the Tang-Music piece *Etenraku/Yuedian yue* 越殿樂 'Khotanese Music', comparing versions in *Ko sō-fu* and *Jinchi-yōroku*, he had tentatively placed one hiku-sign in square brackets, indicating that it was to be ignored, since *Jinchi-yōroku*'s texts showed there was no need to lengthen the preceding note. Later, however, he realized that here (and elsewhere in *Ko sō-fu*) hiku 引 is acting as a marker for binary segments.

More recently, Dr Elizabeth Markham found that the entire *Ryo-Saibara* 呂催馬樂 section in *Jinchi-yōroku* made use of what, in the light of the usage of *Ko sō-fu*, must be regarded, as compared with the notation of *Ritsu-Saibara* 律催馬樂, as a more archaic system of mensural notation. In this lydian portion of the Saibara-repertory, the fact that hiku can function merely as a binary-unit marker is made explicit by the presence of the standard patterns of claques of the clapper (*shakubyōshi* 笏拍子), characteristic of Saibara.

In *Sango-yōroku* and *Jinchi-yōroku*, the mensural ichi- and hiku-signs are replaced, generally speaking, in all items save Ryo-Saibara, by *intracolumnary dots* that mark off binary segments. The use of such dots — either solid • or hollow ○ — has persisted down to the scores of the Meiji period and their modern printings (occasionally circular dots may be replaced by a pair of small brush-dots in horizontal alignment).

In our readings of Moronaga's scores, and of mouth-organ scores of the thirteenth century, we find that these various methods of marking binary segments may at times be used together: two systems of metrical notation may be super-imposed. For example, a binary segment may be marked by an intracolumnary dot as well as by hiku. In such instances, it is important *not* to read the hiku-sign as a prolongation-sign. Furthermore, it is evident that intra-columnary dots have precisely the same role to fulfill as ichi-signs, so that a single tablature-sign within a column with a dot before and a dot after must be read as a note lasting two beats.

In addition to the marking-off of binary segments, Moronaga's scores exhibit, particularly in the more decorated dō-kyoku/tong-qu, but not infrequently in primary versions also, use of a further metrical element: beats of the *kakko/jiegu* 羯鼓 (*kobyōshi* 小拍子 'small beats') placed to the right of the tablature-signs. These combine with the signs for bass-drum beats (in different manuscripts: 百 or ○ or •) to yield standard metrical patterns. In the secondary versions of *Jinchi-yōroku*, intracolumnary dots may be omitted when kobyōshi are present.

Whatever may have been the date when the change to the more economical indication of binary segments by intracolumnary dots (rather than by hiku-signs) occurred, scribes, copying from older manuscripts that used hiku as mensural indicator into the newer system, may understandably have had difficulty at times in deciding whether a particular hiku-sign had a prolongatory or a metrical-marker function. To be on the safe side, they may have retained the older marker as well as using the new.

A striking feature of *Ko sō-fu*, as well as of the probably yet earlier scores for zither from the hand of the Chinese Sun Bin 孫賓 preserved in *Ruisō-chiyō* (*c.* 1261), is — as Dr Markham observed — the preponderant use of broken, rather than simultaneous, octaves. This appears to be a characteristic feature of the earlier zither-style, and this too is present in the Ryo-Saibara, suggesting that, in the condition in which Moronaga presents them in *Jinchi-yōroku*, they were already 'old-fashioned'. Furthermore, it becomes evident from context that, whereas at times such broken octaves must be played in the rhythm: ♩ ♩ , at other times, and in particular if they form the second element of a binary unit, the rhythm must be: ♩⊓ .

As a result of the detailed work by Dr Markham on the entire body of music preserved in the two great collectanea of Moronaga, and in particular as a result of her close comparison of lute- and zither-tablatures of Saibara, Tōgaku, and Komagaku, as well as by her use of *Ko sō-fu*, we are persuaded that even the 'unmeasured' *Preludes* (jo/xu) — as discriminated by Dr Marett in his work on *Hakuga no fue-fu* (op.cit., 1976, p. 21) — are not to be per-

[31] See *Tenri Toshokan shozō no jūyō na Tōgaku-fu ni kansuru oboegaki, Biblia 57* (1974), transcriptions on *verso* of manuscript-facsimile, plate 1.

formed *senza misura* in the full sense, even though (indeed) there are no measures/bars of standard length, defined by a recurring bass-drum beat; for these movements, just as much as the measured ones, are assembled from binary units. We are now of the opinion that Dr Marett was mistaken in stating that ichi-signs have no metrical significance in *Preludes* (and in the rare *Processionals*) of Tōgaku. Indeed it seems certain that not only the ichi-sign but also its equivalents in other and/or later manuscripts — hiku (in full and in reduced forms) and intracolumnary dots — are to be treated as binary segmental markers wherever they occur, unless their treatment as such is expressly excluded.

Our view has this practical result: that musicians would thereby be enabled to keep in time, and dancers to keep in step, while processing to the stage, and while taking up their positions before the dance proper began. A basic two-beat metre would be constantly maintained.

Moronaga's Tōgaku-scores also show what appears to us to be a very significant difference in the placement of bass-drum (= taiko) beats in the scores of *Preludes* and in those of measured movements, such as the *Broaching* in the present suite. In measured pieces, the bass-drum beats are shown by Moronaga as precisely level with the note on which the main drum-beat falls. (In a measure of eight beats, for example, the single, marked drum-beat is executed today with a short up-beat on the latter half of the preceding beat, thus: 𝄽 𝄽 𝄽 𝄾𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝄽 𝄽 𝄽 .) In *Preludes*, on the other hand, the drum-beat is written *following* the last note of the preceding musical period; and the sign, read *tei* (丁), stated by Hakuga (in *Hakuga no fue-fu*) to mean 'a short pause',[31] is placed *either* following the drum-beat sign *or* in horizontal register with the drum-beat sign. While Hakuga gives an interpretation that suggests a small interval of time, the lexigraph itself may have been originally a quickly-written, graphic borrowing for some homonym such as 定 (= 'to fix', 'to settle'), and even 釘 (= 'to nail'), and 錠 (= 'to anchor') — all implying that movement ceases. We suggest that even this punctuating percussion-cadence was executed in strict time. Moreover, since the drum-beat sign frequently *follows* the prolongation-sign that defines the duration of the cadence at the end of the preceding musical section, we further suggest that the first short, anacrusic drum-stroke falls on the second half of the second beat of that note's duration, and the main stroke occupies the two following silent beats, thus maintaining the binary pulse throughout.

What was clearly characteristic of *Preludes* in general (but see p. 25) seems to have been their slow pace. This is made plain by the use of the term *nobe/yan* 延 (= stretching, hence 'lengthening') in certain manuscripts, at the point where earlier manuscripts have the instruction 'from this point onwards play like a *Prelude*' (p. 67, fn. 6). *Processionals*, on the other hand, cannot have been executed excessively slowly, since instructions for repeats are given (p. 19).

(c) *Some features of the mouth-organ scores*

An important statement by the owner, concerning the Chinese scribe, Jing Zhi 淨智 (his name — 'Pure Wisdom' — is Buddhist, but he was not, as once suggested, a monk), copyist of the manuscript *Shinsen shō-teki-fu* 新撰笙笛譜 (*Yōmei Bunko* 陽明文庫 Kyōto: 2 maki: 94487 (1) completed in 1303), reveals that the marking of 'beats' (*hyōshi/pai-zi* 拍子) was undertaken as a separate operation. Both scrolls end with identical colophons, written by the owner: 'At the time of the first ten days of the eighth month of the fourth year of the period of Shōan the commissioned Chinese (= 'man of Song') Jing Zhi's copying was finished.'

'At the time of the same period of the first ten days of the same month of the same year, the drum-beat indications completed it.'

'On the 24th day of the third month in the second year of Kangen, a first collation was completed.'[32]

There are several points calling for comment. The compound verb *kaki-utsusu* 書寫 in Japanese use means specifically to copy, to transcribe. It is striking that the copying is described as 'completed' or 'finished', even

[32] 于時正安四年八月上旬之比誂(=頃誂)求人淨智書寫畢同年同月上旬之比拍子指畢 乾元二年三月二十五一校合畢

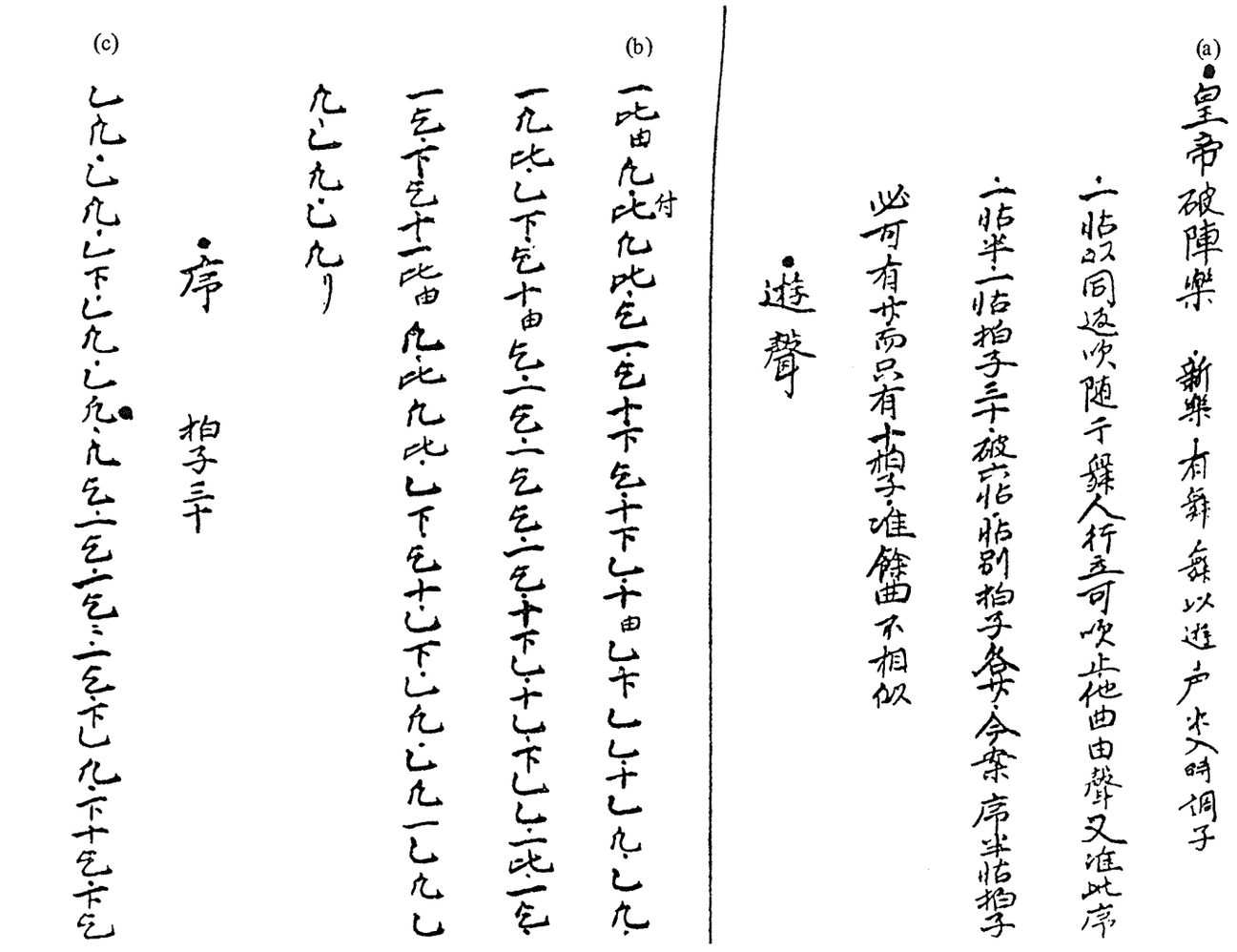
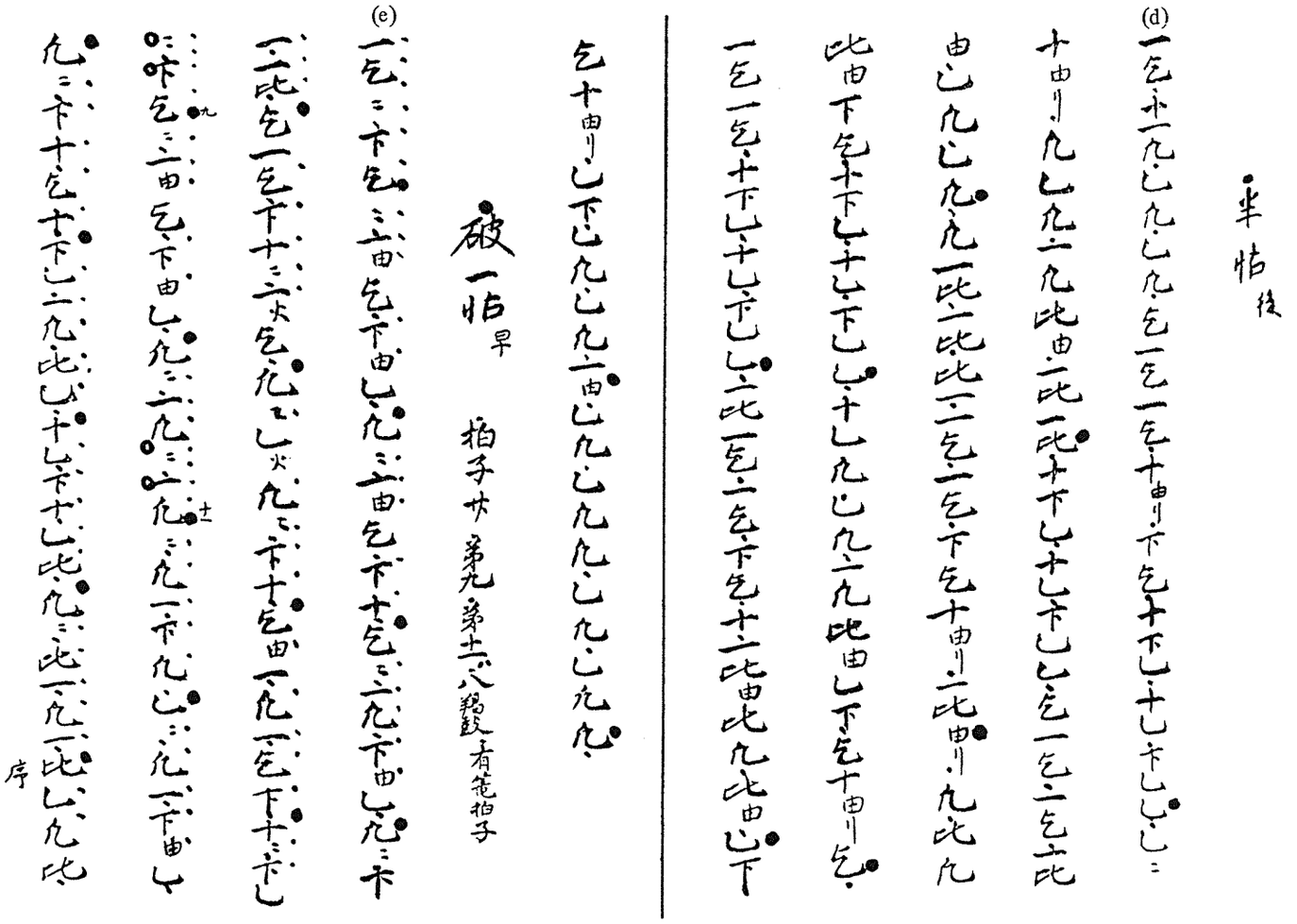


Plate 1: *Ko fu/Hōshō-fu ryo-kan* (1244) (mouth-organ *shō/sheng*) *Ō-dai hajin-raku.* From right to left (a) *Preface*, (b) *Processional*, (c) *Prelude* (beginning).



(d) *Prelude* (*hanjō-go*, see p. 51, fn. 67), (e) *Broaching*, Section 1 (up to the beginning of the *Coda* 'in the preludial manner').

(a)

(b)

(c)

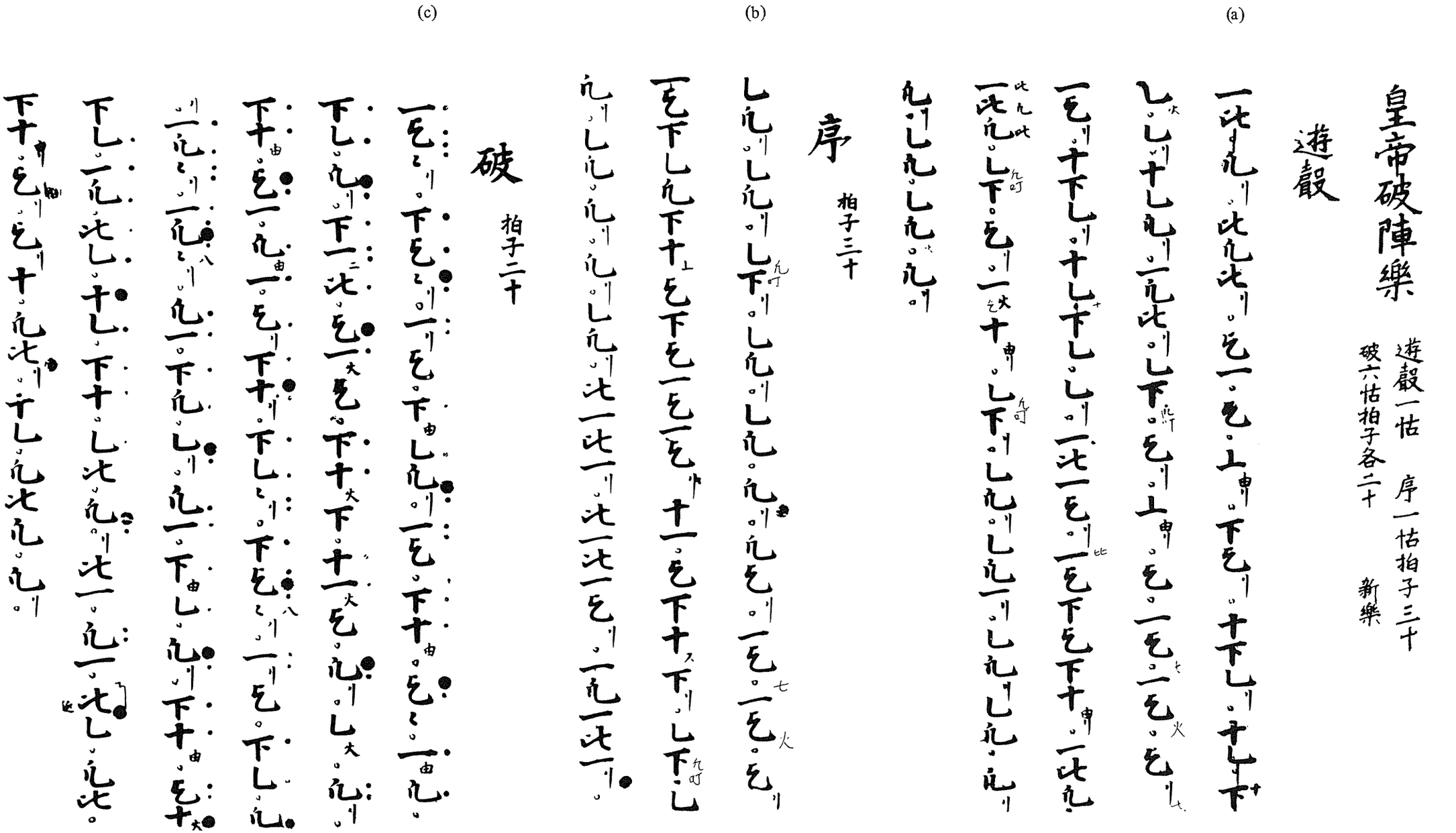
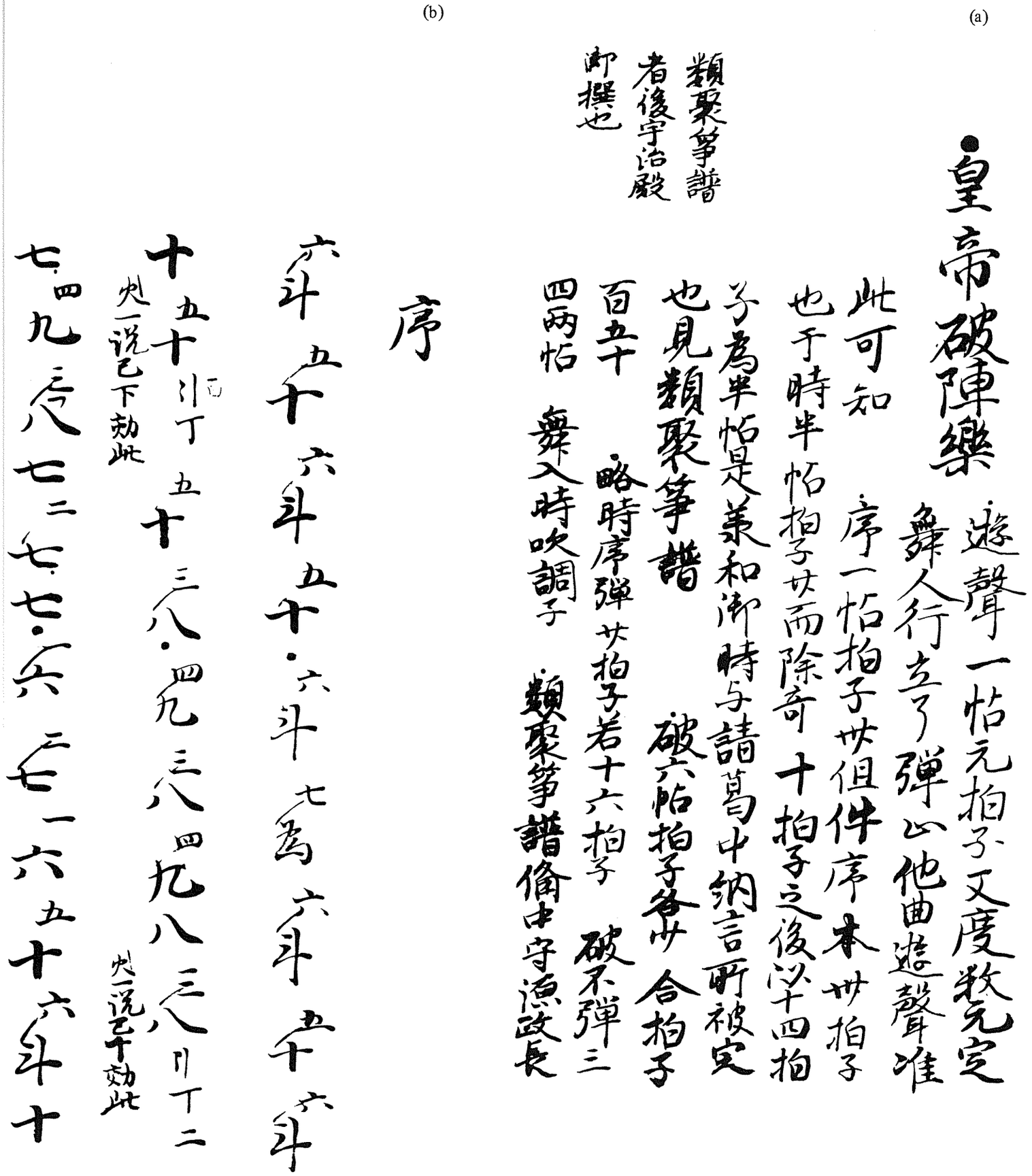


Plate 2: *Shinsen shō-teki-fu* (1303) (mouth-organ) *Ō-dai hajin-raku.* From right to left (a) *Processional*, (b) *Prelude* (first four drum-beat periods), (c) *Broaching*, Section 1.

(a)

(b)


皇帝破陣樂 遊聲一怙元拍子又度数定
舞人行立了彈心他曲遊聲准
此可知 序一怙拍子廿但件序本廿拍子
也于時半怙拍子廿而除奇十拍子之後以十四拍
子為半怙是兼和御時与詰葛中納言所被定
也見類聚箏譜 破六帖拍子各卅 合拍子
百五十 略時序彈廿拍子若十六拍子 破不彈三
四両怙 舞入時吹調子 類聚箏譜倫中守源政長
類聚箏譜
者後宇治殿
御撰也
序
六斗 五十 六斗 五十・六斗 七為 六斗 五十 六斗
十五十 五 十 三八・四九 三八 四九 八 三八 丁二
丁 丁
十 丁
丁
丁

(a)

飲酒樂　壹團嬌

武德樂

(b)

皇帝破陣樂　遊聲一拍无拍子又度數无定
奏人行立了停止但曲遊聲准此
可知　序一拍拍子卅但件序本拍拍子也干時半
拍拍子廿而隆弁十拍子之後以十四拍子為半拍
是最和御時与諸篥中纲言不被定也見頻
頻聚篥譜者
後宇治殿御撰也　破六拍拍子各廿　合拍子百五
十　略時序停仗拍子若十六拍子破不停三
巡拍　奏入時吹調子頻聚篥譜倫中中
源政長說無了將入時又吹遊聲但不打未拍
子　大曲　新樂

(c)

南宮横笛譜云　今案序半拍拍子此可有
只有十拍子隹餘曲不相似今同安内青尾殿
演奏傳云此傳序初拍子也而遺居特傳生還
奉面時忘八拍子也仍除弁十拍子今遵
半拍只十拍子此事雖不慥說古老所傳也又
首善隆此曲首有中務大輔清原瀧雄造調正
高階黒雄令傳
石川色子等

遊聲　遊或作由

(d)

今案奏人立定時打大鼓非每度打之

序

下し也下し也丁一或不停此七也
し也七り也り也し也丁百

下し也下し也り七そ七り也り也し也百

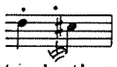
し之上ム八之ム八上之上丁　くセ工文八之ム
大二或只下用

Plate 4: *Sango-yōroku* (*c.* 1171; copy of 1326) *Ō-dai-hajin-raku.* From right to left (a) last three items in list of contents of *Ichikotsu-chō* mode-key group, (b) *Preface,* (c) *Processional* (beginning, and end – with final drum-stroke), (d) *Prelude* (beginning). Note upper-marginal and right and left glosses.

though the beat-signs had yet to be added; this fact suggests that, from the point of view of the copyist, the score was already complete without hyōshi and kobyōshi (p. 29). Since normally it is taiko-beats that are referred to as hyōshi, it seems likely that both these and the kakko-beats were inserted subsequent to the writing of the columns of tablature-signs, subdivided by the intracolumnary dots. The fact of a subsequent marking of mensural features may account for a tendency in parts of this manuscript (not in fact manifested in the measured portions of the *Broaching* of Ō-dai hajin-raku) for the bass-drum-beat dots to be located (apparently) in association with the note preceding that on which they should fall. In the *Broaching* of Ō-dai hajin-raku as it appears in SSSTF, the dots are in precise, horizontal register with their associated note (see Plate 1(e)); but in the somewhat earlier *Ko fu/Hō-shō-fu/ritsu-kan/ryo-kan* manuscript (p. 33, and Plate 2(c)), dots are frequently displaced to the upper, right-hand corner of an imaginary square, the main area of which is occupied by the tablature-sign. With such a practice being adopted, it is understandable that apparent displacement of the beat-dot (whether indicating kakko- or taiko-beat) from the appropriate register to the preceding horizontal register might well occur. Such a displacement does *not* occur in the writing of this first item in SSSTF, perhaps because the copyist was at first particularly careful about keeping beat-dots and tablature-signs in correct horizontal register.

A further matter calling for comment is that both dates given by the owner do not exist according to the published chronological tables[33]; both were invalidated by a subsequent change in *nengō*. Taking this into account, the first date becomes 1302; the second 1303. The note on the dedication of the copy to the Lord Uma, sealed by Rai-in (Yoritane) 賴胤 is dated to the thirteenth day of the seventh month in the third year of Kagen 嘉元, namely, 1305. The collation referred to by the owner, must then have occurred prior to 1305. The completion of the manuscript, including the addition of the 'beat-signs', occurred in 1302 with the 'first collation' taking place in 1303.

This is the only manuscript that has come to our notice written, as a commission, by a non-Japanese scribe. It represents mouth-organ practice at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. Although shakes (*yu* 由) are no longer applied to the mouth-organ part in contemporary performance, they are marked throughout both in SSSTF and in the manuscript of 1244: KF/HSFR/RK (p. 33). Between the two manuscripts, however, there are differences in the positioning of the sign 由 in Ō-dai hajin-raku. In SSSTF, yu is never in register with a kakko-dot, whereas in KF/HSFR/RK it invariably is — as shown in the mouth-organ parts in measure 2 of the *Broaching* (p. 65). If the mouth-organ parts are compared with those of zither and lute, it appears that wherever, in SSSTF, yu *follows* a tablature-sign in register with a kakko-dot, the shake must be executed *on* the beat and as a mordent, if it is to match mordents in the string-parts. Once, at the end of the first jō (after an even-numbered tablature-sign), the shake is written as 由 リ

In KF/HSFR/RK, on the other hand, the sign yu (由) is invariably in register with a kakko-dot, and the following tablature sign must share (and, presumably, take half of) the one-beat duration marked by the dot. The rhythm of the shake is then presumably changing to or even at speed. The last interpretation is made probable by the frequent substitution of for  in later mouth-organ scores.

Of great interest in both manuscripts (KF/HSFR/RK and SSSTF) is the evident serial numbering of kakko-dots as a guide to the reader, where certain measures are of non-standard length. In jō 1 of the *Broaching*, measures 9 and 11 are stated to be of eight kakko-beats (instead of six), while in jō 3, measures 10 and 12 are stated to be of five kakko-beats (instead of six). This numbering shows plainly that while it was not customary at this time to state the number of beats per measure at the beginning of a piece, musicians were nevertheless accustomed to think of each taiko-beat as marking off a measure of so many kakko-beats.[34]

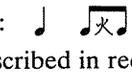
In the case of the five-beat measures in jō 3 of the *Broaching* (p. 23), however, we are inclined to suggest that the failure of copyists to respect the binary-marker function of ichi (一) in the string-parts, and of intracolumnary dots in the mouth-organ parts led to the disappearance of a beat in each of two measures. The clue to what happened (in our view) is the remarkable series of ichi retained in the lute-part (jō 3, measures 7–12, p. 72) and the intracolumnary dots at the corresponding point in the mouth-organ parts.

[33] Tsuchihashi, Paul Yachita, S.J., *Japanese chronological tables* (Tokyo, 1952); '79 *Rekishi techō* 歴史手帳, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan (Tokyo, 1980).

[34] A manuscript dated 1663 shows items prefaced by a statement of the number of beats (in the sense of kakko-beats) per measure. At what date this practice became general is not known.

Discrepancies between the parts appear already in measure 7. If it is accepted that the ichi-signs of the lute-part here mark off binary segments, the rhythm of the lute part should be (where marks a mordent in the rhythm). This interpretation is contradicted, however, in *both* string parts (lute and zither), by the placing of the bass-drum beat on *b* rather than on *c* (this is so in all four scores). If applied in all four scores, the repetition of *b* as in KF/HSFR/RK would make good musical sense, yielding the rhythm , but such a reading supposes (rather improbably) that an omission has occurred in three out of four scores.

Leaving this seventh problematical measure on one side for the time being, measure 9 calls for completion, if the binary-marker function of ichi and intracolumnary dot is accepted. Measure 10 then reverts to being a measure of six beats, and measure 11 becomes a measure of six beats by lengthening the last note, under the influence of ichi in the lute-part, and of intracolumnary dots at the ends of mouth-organ measures. This leaves *c* available to act as first beat of measure 12, which thus becomes also a measure of six beats. For measure 7 we would suggest an original structure of:

Between the two mouth-organ scores there are other small mensural, notational differences. As shown in the first measure of the *Broaching* (p. 65), KF/HSFR/RK finds it unnecessary to mark the second *a* as lengthened (since lengthening is required by the presence of three tablature-signs preceded and followed by an intracolumnary dot). SSSTF, on the other hand, adds a lengthening 引 (= 引) after the repeat sign (二) that follows the *a* tablature-sign. The latter manuscript also uses the contracted form of hiku (引) at times to 'dot' a tablature-sign — as at the beginning of the *Broaching*, measure 2, or at the end of measure 6 (disregarding a supernumerary intracolumnary dot). KF/HSFR/RK obtains the same rhythmic effect in the latter instance by repeating the note, and by inserting a *ka/huo* 火 (= 'fire' = 'quick'), halving the note-values of the second pair of notes:  .

Attention must also be drawn to the presence of decorative notes inscribed in red ink in SSSTF. So far as is known to us, this is the only manuscript exhibiting such decoration. In the transcriptions they are shown as acciaccaturas or — very occasionally — groups of grace-notes of minimal duration.

Although the manuscript of 1244 (a copy, written in Bunka 文 化 10 = 1813) includes modal preludes (*chōshi/diao-zi* 調子) in which the term occurs now used when complex cluster-chords are to be applied to the melody-note: *ai-take/he-zhu* 合 竹 ('harmonizing' or 'concordant' bamboos = 'pipes'), we believe that the standard, modern cluster-chords were *not* applied to the notes of tunes in the performance of Tōgaku-pieces at this time, and that, both in euphony-testing *netori* 音 取 (= 'seizing the notes') and in the extended modal preludes (chōshi), the most complex chord applied consisted only of fifth above and fourth below the melody-note. The presence of grace-notes in red, in *Shinsen shō-teki-fu*, suggests to us that by 1303, the pace of performance was slow enough for the mouth-organ to practise, occasionally, a minor degree of melodic decoration.

A further sign shows that some of the graces were undoubtedly of minimal duration. This is 丁 . As such, it is no longer used in the notation of chōshi, or anywhere else in mouth-organ notation. It appears to be a graphic combination of 叩 *kō* or *tata* and 打 *chō* or *utsu*, both terms meaning 'strike'. Their significance is that a finger is percussed against a given pipe, briefly closing the finger-hole so that, the impedance of that pipe being increased to a suitable level by the ensuing increase in acoustic length, the free-reed is set vibrating and the pipe speaks. It should be emphasized that the indication that consonant pipes are to be added to the melody note does not once occur in the course of any Tōgaku-melody in any manuscript known to us. Their application today is a part of the unwritten tradition of performance.

No attempt has been made to emend scores so as to obtain, for each instrument, a version completely reconcilable with the versions of the other instruments. In our view, such an attempt would be premature at this stage. In preparing the quasi-full-score, note-heads have been ranged, at times regardless of duration, so that notes of the same pitch are in vertical alignment in all parts, thus demonstrating the essential identity of musical substance between different instruments and different manuscripts.

In general, it will be seen that the mouth-organ manuscript of 1244 preserves both a metrically somewhat simpler, and less decorated, version of the piece than the versions of the other manuscripts. In parts of this manuscript, the relatively long sequence of notes apparently lacking segmentation by intracolumnary dots may be due either to omission by the copyist, or to overlap between the dots and the tablature signs that follow dots. In the latter case, careful examination of the original manuscript with a hand-lens at some future date may enable overlapping dots to be discriminated.

The portion of the suite where texts are most uncertain embraces the *Prelude*-like fifth and sixth Sections of the *Broaching* (pp. 77–83). In these, the large number of glosses (in JCYR and SGYR) relating to the presence or absence of the secondary tablature-sign 火 that determines whether a pair of notes is to be executed as crotchets or quavers, indicates that metrical uncertainty was already considerable by the late twelfth century. In these Sections also, the mouth-organ manuscript of 1244 preserves a version at times metrically substantially different from, and often simpler than, that of the strings.

Clearly, however, notwithstanding discrepancies between manuscripts and instrumental parts, it would not be difficult (if desired) to prepare a performing-text from the quasi-full-score as we now have it.

Notes on sources in tablature transcribed in this fascicle

No attempt will be made to give a complete description — physical, bibliographical, or historical — of the four manuscripts from which items have been transcribed in this first fascicle. For such, reference may be made (for example) to the catalogues of the *Ueno-Gakuen Nihon Ongaku Shiryō-shitsu* 上野學園日本音樂資料室, directed by Professor Fukushima Kazuo (see p. 8).

The reason why this first fascicle does not include transcriptions from the *Gogen kin-fu* of 842 and the *Hakuga no fue-fu* of 966 is that neither of these manuscripts includes a version of Ō-dai hajin-raku. In future fascicles, however, transcriptions from these earliest manuscript sources of Tōgaku will be set beside those from the four manuscripts here transcribed, wherever such a juxtaposition is possible.

The colophons (and occasionally the prefaces also) to Tōgaku-manuscripts frequently include information of historical interest, the proper interpretation of which — in terms of lines of transmission, regional associations, etc. — must await detailed study by Japanologists, and in general by those closer to the original documents, and to the associated literature of the period than are we.

These notes will be limited to brief comments on the dates at which originals or copies were written, to the family relationships of the copyists, and to the contents of prefaces that relate to the work transcribed.

The earlier of the two mouth-organ manuscripts (stamped: Nihon ongaku shiryō-shitsu zōsho, No. 6009, 9.ii.1926/7) has two titles: *Ko fu ritsu-kan/ryo-kan* (for the two sewn volumes) according to labels on the covers of these copies written in *Bunka* (文化) 10 (1813) and *Hō-shō-fu ritsu-kan/ryo-kan*, respectively 'Ritsu- and ryo-scrolls of The Old Score' 古譜律卷/呂卷, and 'Ritsu- and ryo-scrolls of the Male Roc Mouth-Organ Score' 鳳笙譜律卷/呂卷. (The term hō/feng is commonly translated 'phoenix'; but the mythical bird intended is not subject to terminal incineration. It is conceived as a transcendent male pheasant of the most splendid kind, and is related rather to the great birds of Western Asia — such as the roc that bore aloft Sindbad.)

At the end of the ritsu-volume there is no colophon, but the second book ends with two colophons. The earlier of these, both signed, and with *kakihan* 書き判 or *kaō* 花押 ('written seals' or 'paraphes' as the French would call them),[35] and dated *Kangen* 寛元 Second Year (1244), eleventh day of the tenth month, was written by *Sakon'e shōgen Ason* Toyohara no Chika-aki 左近衛將監朝臣豊原近秋, Lieutenant, Left Division, Inner Palace Guards. Chika-aki lived from 1203 until 1284.[36] His colophon shows that three other members

[35] See Koop, A. J., and Inada, Hogitarō, *Japanese Names* (1973), p. 4.

[36] See Ōno, Tadao 多忠雄 *Gakka keifu* 樂家系譜 ('Genealogies of musicianly families') — prepared for the use of *Kunaichō Gakubu* 宮內庁樂部. Professor Fukushima accepts that this is effectively Toshiaki's score of 1201 (p. 34) and, therefore, perhaps only 30 years later than those of Moronaga.

of the Toyohara lineage were concerned in the transmission of this tradition: his grandfather, Toshiaki 利秋 (1162–1212), his brother, Yoshiaki 好秋 (1193–1271), and his elder son, Masa-aki 政秋 (1228–95).

The second colophon, signed (and with kakihan/kaō) on the 29th day of the eighth month in the tenth year of Bunka (1813) is by Toyohara no Fumiaki, Junior Fifth Rank, Governor of Oki (*Jū-go-i-jō-gyō* Oki [no kami] 従五位上行隱岐豊原朝臣文秋). The colophon begins with a reference to the link with Toshiaki, but then extends the genealogy back to the latter's father, Tokiaki 時秋 (1098–1179), himself described as direct descendant of the eldest son of Tokimoto (Jigeń) 時元 (1058–1123). (This last statement is only true in the sense of 'eldest surviving son'. By date of birth Tokiaki was the fourth of Tokimoto's sons.) Furthermore, Tokimoto is described as the founder of the mouth-organ (Hō-shō) tradition 'of this court'. Fumiaki also mentions the completion of an autograph copy of the score by Toshiaki in the first year of *Kennin* 建仁 (1201) when the latter (born in 1152) would have been approaching his fiftieth year.

The implication of the two colophons is that, in all probability, KF/HSFR/RK preserves a tradition extending back into the twelfth century, at least to the time of compilation of the great compendia of scores for zither and lute, *Jinchi-yōroku* and *Sango-yōroku*, by Fujiwara no Moronaga (see below). With Fumiaki's insistence on the standing of Tokimoto in the mouth-organ tradition of the court, there can be little reason to question the authority of KF/HSFR/RK.

In this respect, there is a great gap between this manuscript and the other mouth-organ manuscript transcribed, the *Shinsen shō-teki-fu* 新撰笙笛譜 ('Newly edited mouth-organ scores'). (In this title, the sequence shō-teki does not mean 'mouth-organ and flute', but derives from the practice of regarding the mouth-organ as a type of flute, rather as the biwa was occasionally regarded as a type of koto, as in the expression 'biwa no koto'.) The date of SSSTF has already been discussed (p. 31) in relation to the insertion of 'beat-signs' after completion of the copy with respect to primary tablature-signs. So far as is known, the original of the KF/HSFR/RK from the hand of Toyohara no Chika-aki does not survive; and it is both the fact that SSSTF survives in original (Yōmei Bunko 94487) (and, so far as we know, was never copied), and that in places it offers evidence of melodic decoration, that renders it unique.

The copy of the zither-manuscript, *Jinchi-yōroku*, that we have used is a dated copy, the writing of which was completed in the first year of *Temmei* 天明 (1781). This is the only explicitly dated copy known to us. The catalogue of items from the Fushimi-no-miya Collection, now in Kunaichō Shoryōbu, includes a number of fragmentary zither scores of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, including the second scroll of a *Jinchi-yōryaku* 仁智要略 , itself written in all probability *before* the dated introduction to the manuscript (seventh day of the fourth month of the fourth year of *Einin* 永仁 , that is, 1296). This yōryaku differs, in the order of the pieces contained, from the yōroku, and like the *Sango-yōryaku* of the same editor (Moronaga) may have been a preparatory selection of documents towards the larger compendium. (Plate 3)

The entry relating to the Temmei *Jinchi-yōroku* in the Catalogue of Kunaichō Shoryōbu (Ongaku: 325: Gagaku; p. 757) is: 仁智要錄藤原師長天明元年藤原貞幹等(鷹)11鷹 593. The last phrase 'Fujiwara no Sadamoto (Teichō) and others' refers to the scribes. E. Harich-Schneider, op.cit., p. 263, mentions the existence of a number of 'traced copies' (*shahon* 寫本) of late Momoyama or early Tokugawa date. Of these, what she regarded as the best and probably the oldest (菊巻 80, Kyōto University Library), has been examined by me (1972) and by Dr Wolpert and Dr Markham (1978), who also examined the copy in Yōmei Bunko (94437). It is less reliable than the Temmei copy.

For the lute-compendium of Moronaga, *Sango-yōroku*, we use exclusively a microfilm of the superb Palace copy, originally belonging to the Kikutei family (菊亭家), Catalogue (as before): p. 756, 12, 515–87, dated in the third year of *Kareki* 嘉暦 (1326). The catalogue-entry adds the name Takamichi (Kōdō) 孝道 as scribe and states that the manuscript was repaired (補寫) in the Muromachi period. The final colophon is by Takashige (Kōjū) 孝重 ; both were of the Fujiwara family. (Plate 4)

Prefatory comments in the sources

Prefatory comments in KF/HSFR/RK are of two kinds, written in smaller and larger lexigraphs. All such comments are in Chinese. The practice of adding such comments to the title of a piece is fully developed in *Jinchi-yōroku* and *Sango-yōroku* from the last quarter of the twelfth century, but it must have been well developed in the pre-

cursors of *Hakuga no fue-fu* as we now have it. In the present *Hakuga no fue-fu*, as preserved in eighteenth-century copies, the comments are extremely brief (see Marrett, *Musica Asiatica* (1977), pp. 27–59, for examples). In JCYR and SGYR, on the other hand, comments are frequently extended. In lay-out they resemble the descriptive entries relating to the various Tōgaku-pieces to be found in *Ryūmeishō* and *Kyōkunshō*. They differ from the short descriptive entries in the late tenth-century *Wamyō-ruijū-shō* 倭名類聚鈔 in that they are concerned almost exclusively with details of formal structure, rather than with matters of history or personal association.

The comments in smaller lexigraphs, immediately below the title of the piece, usually concern themselves with such questions as: 'old' or 'new' music? Is there a dance? What music is used for the entrance and exit of dancers? The dates, in relation to which the terms 'old' and 'new' are applied, have at times been matter for discussion; but according to the explicit statement of *Taigenshō* 體源鈔 compiled by Toyohara Sumiaki 豊原統秋 (completed in 1512; Nihon Koten Zenshū of 1933: maki 5, 594) 'old music' is Chinese music up to, and including, the Liang and Chen Dynasties — up to 587; 'new music' is Chinese music from the Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–905) Dynasties. Stylistic evidence, to be examined on a future occasion, supports this definition of the terms.

Comments written in larger characters refer to formal musical structure and to practical details relating to performance.

KF/HSFR/RK (Plate 1(a))

'The Emperor destroys the Formations'

'New Music. There is a dance. Dancers emerge with the *Processional*; when retiring, [with the] *Modal Prelude*.

皇帝破陣樂. 新樂. 有舞. 舞以遊戶(=聲)出.
入時調子

(*Processional*) one Section (jō) with repeats of same played ('blown') in accordance with the movement of the dancers. May be played five times and then stop. The *Processionals* of other pieces also imitate this.[37]

Prelude (jo/xu 序)[38] of one Section with its halves. This one Section's drum-beats (hyōshi/paizi 拍子) are thirty. *Broaching* (ha/po 破) of six Sections. Sections are separated;[39] of drum-beats, each has twenty.

At the present time, regarding the *Prelude*, the drum-beats of the Half-Section ought to be twenty; but there are only ten drum-beats.[40] Other pieces that resemble [this in having Half-Sections] are not similar [in that their Half-Sections are of equal length].'

·一帖以同退吹隨于舞人行. 五可吹止. 他曲由聲又
准此[·]序一帖半. 一帖拍子三十. 破六帖.
帖別拍子各廿(=二十). 今案序半帖拍子必可有廿.
而只有十拍子. 准餘曲不相似

[37] The first element of the term 'yusei' is written phonetically with yu 由 instead of 遊

[38] The text is wrongly punctuated. The dot should come after 此 and before 序. *Processionals* cannot be like 'this *Prelude*'. The correction is confirmed by SGYR.

[39] *Kyōkunshō* states that the six Sections are to be played 'disconnectedly', 'in pieces', *kiregire* 切ニ吹之 (according to Eckardt *abschnittsweise*, 'section by section'). *Kyōkunshō* adds that Sections 5 and 6 are to be played 'in *Prelude* manner' and 'joined together' (*jo fuku ren fuku* 序吹連吹); but *Ryūmeishō* emphasizes that the time-interval between them must be very short: 左ヾすこしの程あるべし。

[40] This refers to the latter Half-Section of the movement, originally twenty drum-beat periods long, from which ten drum-beat periods were removed.

SSSTF (Plate 2(a))

'The Emperor destroys the Formations'

'*Processional* one Section

Prelude one Section; drum-beats [or by implication: drum-beat sections] thirty

Broaching six Sections; drum-beats of each, twenty

New Music'

皇帝破陣樂
遊聲一帖　　序一帖　拍子三十
破六帖　拍子各二十　新樂

The prefatory comments in this instance are reduced to a minimum of factual information relating to the overall formal organization of the piece.

JCYR, SGYR (Plates 3, 4)

The preface to *Ō-dai hajin-raku* in JCYR and SGYR extends to 270 lexigraphs. If it is accepted that the preface cannot have been written before 1171 (when Moronaga was created Dajōdaijin) nor later in the century than the year of his death in 1192, it becomes of the greatest importance that about 50 percent of the preface is reproduced in the account of this same piece in *Kyōkunshō*, and the greater part of this is also written in *kanji/Han zi* 漢字 in *Kyōkunshō* as in the preface. This implies that substantial portions of the compilation of *c.* 1231 were already in existence in *c.* 1171. This is not merely so with regard to content, but also with regard to the particular wording of entire statements that occur *verbatim* in both. *Either* Moronaga was responsible for the formulation of these passages *or else* he was able to draw on the same sources as Koma no Chikazane 狛近真, compiler of *Kyōkunshō*. In general, materials are better organized in the *Kyōkunshō* account that in Moronaga's Preface. Furthermore, although the earlier *Ryūmeishō* of 1133 is in Heian Japanese, only the titles of Tōgaku pieces therein being purely Chinese, about twenty percent of the Preface of Moronaga consists of passages in *Ryūmeishō* recast in *kambun* — in Sino-Japanese. In one instance, a sequence of twelve lexigraphs in Moronaga's Preface equates precisely with a passage in Japanese in *Ryūmeishō*. A discussion of the significance of these observations would go beyond the purpose of the present enquiry. Suffice it to say that all statements in *Kyōkunshō* regarding the part played by particular persons in the transmission or reorganization of this piece are confirmed by the earlier Preface of Moronaga. This is the more important since some of these names and facts are not given in *Ryūmeishō*.

An upper-marginal gloss of great importance precedes the prefaces in JCYR and SGYR. 'The item *Ruijū sōfu* was edited by Nochi no Ujidono' 類聚箏譜者後宇治殿御撰也. Nochi no Ujidono was the usual name of Fujiwara no Morozane 藤原師實 (1042–1101) who was *Kampaku* 関白 (or *Sesshō* 攝政) from 1075 to 1094. He was also grandfather to the Emperor Horikawa (see p. 56) on his mother's side. It is from the outset clear, therefore, that Moronaga was utilizing a zither-score, compiled roughly a century before his own time, not merely in preparing his own zither-score, but also in preparing his own lute-score. The *Ruijū sōfu* has disappeared as such; but it is generally believed that much of its contents are preserved in the *Ruisō chiyō* (pp. 25, 29). With respect to *Ō-dai hajin-raku, Ruisō chiyō* supplies even more, and more extensive, variants than does Moronaga (see p. 83).

'The *Processional* consists of one Section (jō) without drum-beats; furthermore, the number of repeats is not fixed. When the dancers have walked to their final position, stop playing ('plucking'). *Processionals* of other pieces naturally resemble this.

The *Prelude* consists of one Section of 30 drum-beat [periods]; but the aforesaid *Prelude* was originally one of 40 drum-beats. At that time, the Half-Section (hanjō) being of 20 drum-beats, after removing the surplus of ten drum-beats, the remaining Half-Section was made at 14 drum-beats [counting from the end][40]. This is what, in the period of Jōwa,[41] was suffered to be fixed [by imperial edict] by Morokuzu Chūnagon (Middle Counsellor Morokuzu). See *Ruijū sōfu*.[42]

The *Broaching* consists of six Sections, each of 20 drum-beats [periods]. In all, that is, *Prelude* and *Broaching* together, drum-beats [periods] amount to 150 [= 30 + (6 × 20)].

For a summary [= abbreviated] performance: of the *Prelude*, play 20 drum-beats [periods], as if playing sixteen drum-beats [periods]; of the *Broaching*, do not play the two Sections 3 and 4.

When the dancers retire, play the *Modal Prelude* [that is, a piece in the appropriate mode-key that may be played with any Tōgaku-item in that mode-key group]. According to *Ruijū sō fu*, Minamoto no Masanaga, Governor of Bichū, says: when the dance is completed, and at the time when the dancers are about to retire, play (= 'blow') the *Processional* again, but do not play (= 'strike'), at the end, a drum-beat.[43]

A large piece; new music.

Nangū[44] *ōteki-fu* [also read *ōjō-fu*; 'The score for transverse-flute' by Prince Sadayasu] states: "Nowadays, concerning the [latter] Half-Section, there ought to be 20, but there are only 10, drum-beats [periods]. Other pieces resembling [this in having a Half-Section] are not like this." Now if we question the content of this note, a tradition from Owari no Muraji Hamanushi stated of old: in the beginning, the *Prelude* to this dance consisted of 40 drum-beats [periods]; but when the dancer-pupil sent to Tang returned to this country, he had forgotten the last eight drum-beats [periods]. Hence the removal of the surplus of ten drum-beats [periods], leaving now a [latter] Half-Section of only ten drum-beats [periods]. This matter, although not stated beyond doubt, is what was transmitted from olden times.

Furthermore, those who formerly were good dancers of this piece were:

> The Senior Assistant Minister, Ministry of Central Affairs, Kiyohara no Taki-o (*Nakatsukasa no tayū*),
> The Lord of Wine, Takashina Koro-o (*Sake no kami*),
> The Palace Woman in the Palace Attendants Office *Naishi no tsukasa*, Ishikawa Iroko (Myōbu),
> and others.'

遊聲一帖无拍子又度數无定舞人行立了彈止 他曲遊聲准此可知

・序一帖拍子卅但件序本卅[a]拍子也于時半帖拍子廿而除弃/奇[b] 十拍子之後以十四拍子為半帖是承和御時與諸葛中内[c]言所被定也見類聚箏譜

[a] JCYR erroneously gives '30' again, instead of '40'.
[b] JCYR
[c] JCYR correctly has 納.

[41] The Jōwa reign-period lasted for fourteen years, from 834 to 847, and was a time of particularly intense musical activity at the court.

[42] This 'Zither-scores of several kinds collected' has not survived as such. It is probable that the early thirteenth-century zither-compendium: *Ruisō chiyō* 類箏治要 incorporates materials from this work, to which Moronga twice refers in this Preface. See also p. 82.

[43] This is in accordance with the tradition from Wanibe no Ōtamaro that a bass-drum beat is played at the end of the entrance of the dancers (p. 19).

[44] The *Nangū ōteki-fu* (Prince Sadayasu was known as 'Southern Palace' (Nangū)) was completed in 921. Thus Moronaga is able to quote directly from a tenth-century source; and there can be no doubt that KF/HSFR/RK also is quoting from this source, either directly or indirectly. The title *Ruijū sōfu* recalls that of another zither-compendium, *Ruisō chiyō* (p. 82).

・破六帖拍子各卅[d]合拍子百五十　略時序彈卅拍子若十六拍子　破不彈三四兩帖舞入時吹調子

・類聚箏譜備中守源政長説舞了將入時又吹遊聲但不/无打[e]末拍子　大曲新樂

・南宮横笛譜云：今案序半帖拍子必可有卅而只有十拍子准餘曲不相似：今問案内昔尾張[連]濱主傳云：此儛序初卅拍子也而遺唐時儛生還本國時忘八拍子[也[b]]仍除弃十拍子今遺半帖只十拍子　此事雖不慥説古老所傳也又昔善舞/儛此曲者有　中務大輔清原瀧雄　造酒正高階黒雄　命婦石川色子　等

The preface to *Ō-dai hajin-raku* in the lute-manuscript SGYR is the same as that in JCYR. Certain characters are more readily decipherable in JCYR (copied in 1781) than in the copy of 1328 of the 1208 copy of SGYR, and in one place a single character is substituted for two, with no change in sense. Punctuation is more clearly marked in JCYR.

At least as surprising as the presence of 50 percent of the *Kyōkunshō*'s account of *Ō-dai hajin-raku* in Moronaga's Preface, is the appearance, in that same Preface, of the prefatory comments to the piece in KF/HSFR/RK (1244). In this instance, the phrases in common are identical. Occasionally, however, a given phrase may be slightly longer in Moronaga's Preface, and a particularly interesting case is the following, from KF/HSFR/RK: 'At the present time, regarding the *Prelude*, the drum-beats of the Half-Section ought to be twenty; but there are only ten drum-beats. Other pieces that resemble [this in having Half-Sections] are not similar.' Moronaga's Preface adds, however — and most interestingly, that this passage is taken from the lost tenth-century *Nangū ōteki-fu*.

[d] JCYR erroneously gives '30' again, instead of '20'.
[e] JCYR omits 打 (= strike = play)

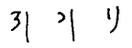
Glossary of signs

In order to provide the reader with as much information as possible, the transcribed quasi-full-score also shows the Sino-Japanese lexigraphs, etc., used to indicate certain features; by showing these, the reader may have opportunity to see what the manuscript score gives, as well as our interpretation of what is given.

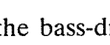
( ) Round brackets enclose notes, etc., to be omitted.

[ ] Square brackets enclose notes, etc., to be supplied.

Chinese lexigraph, read 'yu' in Sino-Japanese, borrowed as sign for a shake. Where the lute, at the same point, shows a plucked mordent, and the zither a slurred mordent, the mouth-organ shake is presumably to be executed as a matching mordent.



These are reduced forms of , read 'hiku' in Sino-Japanese, originally meaning 'to stretch', hence 'to lengthen'. When the sign functions as a prolongation-sign, the length of the note corresponding to the preceding tablature-sign is doubled.

These are signs for the bass-drum beat 'hyaku', today executed as  . This method of execution, with a brief up-beat to the main beat, may reflect ancient practice.

This sign, read 'tei', is defined as a short pause in the *Hakuga no fue-fu* (pp. 13, 16); but perhaps is to be understood as no more than a break in sound-continuity on the part of the wind, marking the end of an extended phrase or section.

This sign functions as a binary marker in the earliest manuscripts (p. 28), and occasionally appears in JCYR and SGYR also.

Such intracolumnary dots function as binary markers in later manuscripts as well as in JCYR and SGYR. They may be solid or hollow. For the sake of clarity, hollow dots are used as phrase-markings, in both mouth-organ scores, in the *Broaching*.

Passages in the mouth-organ parts which have no equivalent in the string parts are transcribed below the systems; their position in the transcription is marked by a letter.

Abbreviations

HFF	*Hakuga no fue-fu* (966) Minamoto no Hiromasa
JCYR	*Jinchi-yōroku* (*c.* 1171) Fujiwara no Moronaga
KF/HSFR/RK	*Ko fu/Hōshō-fu ritsu/ryo-kan* (1201) Toyohara no Toshiaki
RJSF	*Ruijū sō-fu* (11th c.) Fujiwara no Morozane
RSCY	*Ruisō-chiyō* (*c.* 1261)
SGYR	*Sango-yōroku* (*c.* 1171) Fujiwara no Moronaga
SSSTF	*Shinsen shō-teki-fu* (1303)

PROCESSIONAL yusei/yousheng 遊聲(JCYR and SGYR note that 遊 may be written as 由 — a phonetic equivalent.)

(The reader should perhaps be reminded that the leap of a ninth with which the mouth-organ part begins is occasioned by the absence of a $c\sharp''$ in the lower octave.)

[1] *da capo* sign (付 'make an entry'); for references to repeats of the *Processional* see p. 19.

[2] Slur marked in manuscript in red ink.

[3] Archaic use of hiku as binary marker (p. 28). This usage was first recognised in *Ko sō-fu* by Condit (p. 29); it is also used throughout the tablatures for Ryo Saibara, as observed by Elizabeth Markham (unpublished observations), both in JCYR and in the later *Ruisō-chiyō* (p. 29).

[4] Reading 十 for 亠. The latter does not exist, and has never existed, as a tablature-sign for the mouth-organ. In flute-tablature, 亠 is *g″* in this mode-key.

[5] Where ㅇ or 冂 function as binary markers, this will not be foot-noted from here onwards.

[6] Marginal glosses, to right and to left of the central column of the text, in JCYR and SGYR, take several forms. The commonest is for the variant to be introduced, or followed, by the phrase 一説 'one version states' — paraphrasing the brevity of the Sino-Japanese 'issetsu/yi shuo' (= one saying), where the unexpressed implication is that this is a different 'saying'. At other times, where a lexigraph is to be inserted, the lexigraph in question is written at the point of insertion, with an oblique stroke to its right. This applies particularly to the insertion of *ka/huo* 火 (= fire), indicating a halving of the duration of the preceding tablature sign, and commonly of the succeeding sign as well. At this point (foot-note 6) JCYR (right) is glossed: 'One version states '.

In our transcription and reading of glosses in SGYR, no attempt has been made to include the contents of 'flags' pasted into the manuscript, presumably at a date subsequent to completion of the original in 1208, but (on calligraphic grounds) possibly contemporary with the copying of 1326.

[7] *g″* is sounded briefly (p. 32); slur joins *e″* and *f♯″*.

[8] ka/huo 火 shortens preceding note (literal meaning 'fire').

[9] tei/ding 丁 (p. 39) functions as a phrase-mark throughout JCYR and SGYR. Its presence in the string-parts is not reflected in the mouth-organ parts.

[10] Deleted stave marks an apparent hiatus in SSSTF: two notes (*e″*, *d″*) are missing.

[11] A gloss (red ink) is inserted, written to the right of, and below, the tablature sign for *f♯″*: 𠂉丁 (bo utsu, presumably). *d″* is briefly sounded while holding *f♯″* (p. 32).

[12] SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

[13] SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

[14] SSSTF marginal gloss: *c‴ d″ c‴* (as in KF/HSFR/RK).

[15] JCYR (left) 'one version states

[16] SGYR (right) 'one version states

[17] SGYR (right) 'one version states

[18] 'fire' is here used as a rest, shortening the preceding note.

[19] SGYR (right) 'one version states do not pluck (= play) this *d* — *d*″.' 一説不彈此乚也. This gloss suggests that at least one manuscript seen by Moronaga exhibited a lacuna, matching that in KF/HSFR/RK, at this point.

[20] JCYR and SGYR both mark the single bass-drum beat (百) mentioned by *Ryūmeishō* and by *Kyōkunshō* as a feature of traditional performance, transmitted by Wanibe no Ōtamaro 和爾部大田麿. Here (as in the Preface to this piece) Moronaga exhibits knowledge of, and follows, a tradition mentioned in an earlier source (*Ryūmeishō*: 1133). This is the drum-beat that is to be omitted (see Preface, p. 37) if the *Processional* is used to accompany the departure of the dancers from the stage.

A comment written in the upper margin in SGYR refers to execution or non-execution of the final drum-beat: 'In these days, when the dancers have reached their definitive positions, strike the bass-drum. It is not to be struck at each repeat.' 今世舞人立定時打大鼓非每度打之

[21] While *Ryumeisho*, Preface (JCYR, SGYR), and *Kyokunsho*, all state that the number of repetitions of the *Processional* is not fixed, and is to be decided by the time taken by the dancers to reach their definitive positions, KF/HSFR/RK adds the details that it may be repeated five times. This suggests a long column of dancers, even (perhaps) the 120 of the Chinese source (p. 17). Only KF/HSFR/RK places a *da capo* sign three notes and four beats from the beginning.

PRELUDE jo/xu 序

[22] JCYR (left) 'one version states, from here onwards, shorten 火 (= 'fire' inserted) like this'. 火一説已下交此(已=以) This means, presumably, that one manuscript prescribes a shortening (with insertion of a quaver rest) of the supertonic at its last appearance before the cadence, in this standard cadential formula.

At the second appearance of this gloss (again 22) in JCYR (left), SGYR (left) has: 'one version states insert 火 and below similarly'. 火一説已下同(已=以)

[23] JCYR: ligature supplied yielding simultaneous octave.

[24] Since both in JCYR and in SGYR the drum-beat sign is placed (together with the phrase-end stop tei 丁) after the last tablature-sign in the period, and since moreover the drum-beat sign is placed after the second crotchet in the lute-part, we suggest that the short up-beat stroke (assuming that the drum-stroke is to be played as it is today) should fall on the last quaver of the preceding two crotchet-beats, and that the main drum-stroke should be associated with two beats, during which strings and wind are silent. Since, however, this is plainly a tentative suggestion only, we do not propose to write a silent binary unit into the score in the wind and string parts at the points where drum-beats are indicated. In the mouth-organ parts, the drum-beat is marked just before the intracolumnary binary marker; but since the binary unit may be either of four or of two beats, this position of the drum-beat would be quite compatible with the interpretation suggested in the light of zither- and lute-scores.

[25] Note the sequence of six abbreviated hiku-signs (from the beginning of the movement up to the drum-stroke) in SSSTF. All of these duplicate intracolumnary dots in their role of binary markers. One appears to be acting as a prolongation sign (at the drum-beat), but in fact can equally well be regarded as a duplication of the intracolumnary dot above it. A single tablature-sign between two intracolumnary dots, or between two hiku (in the more archaic system) must be prolonged to yield a binary unit.

[26] *ni* 二 ('two') requires preceding note to be repeated. Lengthening of the second note is required by the following intracolumnary dot. This interpretation is authorized by the written-out versions of SSSTF, JCYR, and SGYR. The passage is of importance, for it shows: (a) the repeating function of ni; (b) the function of intracolumnary dots in delimiting binary units in such a way that three tablature-signs between dots require the prolongation of one note to complete (in this instance) a four-beat unit; (c) the simple prolongation function of hiku in SSSTF; (d) the rhythmic matching with JCYR and SGYR, where in SGYR in particular, every one of the four beats is shown explicitly by the tablature.

[27] Both mouth-organ scores include a passage missing from JCYR and SGYR. Slurs in SSSTF join the sequences of the tablature-signs in three groups as shown; but the absence of intracolumnary dots (up to the drum-stroke) precludes rhythmisation.

[28] The grace-note stem is shown headless since the small sign, to the right of the main column of tablature-signs, is 上 which (fn. 4) is not a known sign in the mouth-organ tablature.

[29] Note the operation of the repeat sign, both repeating and halving the duration of a note within a binary unit, confirmed by JCYR and SGYR, while KF/HSFR/RK shows a binary unit of two crotchets.

[30] JCYR: ligature supplied.

[31] Note this surviving archaic binary marker: ichi/yi 一

[32] Both JCYR and SGYR insert 'fire' at this point.

[33] ✓ marks plucking of the string with a backwardly directed stroke, away from the player.

[34] JCYR (right) 'one version states [simultaneous octave] *b* — *b'*.

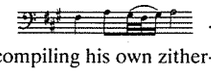
[35] SSSTF gloss 乞丁 ; see fn. 11.

[36] In SSSTF, intracolumnary dots enclose a set of five tablature-signs, of which the last must be prolonged to yield a phrase of six beats. Prolongation is assured by the addition of hiku after the last (fifth) tablature-sign. Note the rhythmic correspondence between KF/HSFR/RK and SSSTF, notwithstanding the different systems of mensural notation adopted by the two manuscripts.

[37] Perhaps a mistake in the writing of a more normal mordent.

[38] ro, written to the left of the tablature-sign bo (*d''*), may warn the mouth-organ player that this *d* is taken in the lowest register by the flute. In flute-tablature, indicates: 'all fingerholes closed' (Marett, op.cit., 1977, p. 5).

[39] JCYR (right) 'one version states '.

SGYR (right) 'Ruijū [sōfu's] version states  .' Evidently Moronaga made use of this zither-manuscript when compiling the lute-score, as well as when compiling his own zither-score.

[40] JCYR (right) 'one version states [simultaneous octave] *b* — *b*'.'

41 SSSTF: these three notes (*e″ d″ d″*) are written in red ink.

42 SGYR (left) (gloss) 引 (archaic binary marker).

43 SGYR (left) (gloss) 'fire' = ♪ 𝄾 (quaver *a* and quaver rest).

44 JCYR (left) (gloss) : 'below similarly'. 以 下 同

45 SGYR: a repeat of the figure is marked, in kana: ヒ (*hi* = 非 = mistake).

46 JCYR (left) (gloss) 'fire'.

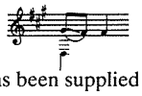
47 Note discrepancy between KF/HSFR/RK and rest.

48 JCYR (left) 'one version states 火 (= fire = quavers).'

49 SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

[50] SSSTF indicates an alternative position for the drum-beat in register with the mordent (由 ｲ) that follows *g*. This is shown as a hollow dot ◯ followed by the katakana syllable イ . The alternative matches the position of the drum-beat shown in KF/HSFR/RK.

[51] JCYR (right) 'one version states

[52] JCYR (right) (gloss) 

[53] JCYR — a ligature has been supplied between the large and small tablature-signs converting a broken, to a simultaneous, octave.

[54] SGYR (right) 'one version states

[55] The repetition sign 二 (in red) following *b*, in SSSTF, does not receive support from the other manuscripts unless the binary unit is read as .

[56] JCYR: perhaps

[57] The lexigraph *nobe/yan* 延 (= lengthen), inserted following this *b*, normally implies a substantial reduction in speed, indeed as much as a halving of the original tempo. Its function here is not understood. It may be used as an alternative to 引

[58] JCYR (right) 'one version states do not play *d*″ here.' Note the lexigraphs *han-jō/ban-tie* 半帖 , and *han-jō chū/ban-tie zhong* 半帖中 , marking the position of the 'new' halfway mark, at the sixteenth drum-beat (p. 20). The single-bracket-like sign, following the preceding drum-beat in SSSTF, may indicate that this was once regarded as the 'new' halfway-mark — as indeed it would have to be, if the material in the mouth-organ parts, where the string-parts exhibit the lacuna (p. 43), were accepted into the structure of the *Prelude*, as in the alternative version for the strings (p. 58).

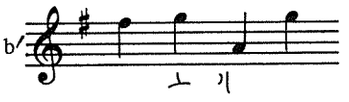
[59] Note explicit $g\natural$s in this period.

[60] JCYR (left) 'one version states 火

[61] JCYR (right) 'one version states

[62] JCYR (left) 'one version states 火 ; below, like this.'

[63] SGYR (left) 'one version 火 ; below, similarly.'



64 JCYR (left), SGYR (left) 'one version states 火

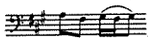
65 JCYR: ligature supplied.

66 JCYR (right) 'one version states

67 SGYR (right) 'one version states

Note the comment *ko han-jō/gu ban-tie* 古 半 帖 , following the twentieth drum-beat, in accordance with the tradition of this having been the original halfway-mark in a *Prelude* of 40, rather than the present 30, drum-beat periods. In KF/HSFR/RK the *han-jō/ban-tie* is qualified as *go/hou* 後 (= after, following, latter).

68 JCYR (right) 'one version states

69 SGYR (right) 'one version states 

SSSTF 'There is a version that adds this in performance.'
(flute tablature) 有 吹 加 之 說

70 JCYR (right) 'one version states .'

71 JCYR (left) (gloss) ' ; below like this.'

72 JCYR (right) 'one version states .'

73 JCYR (left) (gloss) 火 .

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[74] Note discrepancy between zither and rest.

[75] JCYR (left) (gloss) 火 .

[76] SGYR (left) (gloss) 引 .

[77] JCYR: ligature supplied.

[78] JCYR (right) 'one version states .' See fn. 66 also.

[79] SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

[80] SSSTF (gloss) drum-beat on *g*″: 'one version states beat this' 一 說 打 之 .'

[81] SSSTF 'one version states desist from this (= the drum beat) 一 說 止 之 .'

[82] JCYR: duplication of the phrase in the text is regarded as a scribal error in the light of the repeat of this passage. See p. 55, fn. 90.

[83] JCYR (right) 'one version states .' See fn. 66.

[84] SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

85 JCYR (left) (gloss) 丶火

86 JCYR: ligature supplied between larger and smaller tablature-sign, yielding a simultaneous octave.

87 SSSTF 'one version states strike this 一 說 打 之 '.

88 SSSTF 'also desist from the above (stroke) and strike this (here) 又 止 上 打 之 .'

89 SSSTF 'one version states add this .' 一 說 加 之

90 JCYR: repeat of passage at fn. 82.

91 SSSTF: The score has 一 (= *b'*). We suggest that this is the first stroke of an incomplete 下 (= *f*♯″).

92 SSSTF (gloss) 'At the above two places on *a'*, the drum-strokes may be omitted 上 之 兩 所 ク= 打ハ可 止 之 .' See drum-beat period 27, fns 87, 88.

93 SSSTF (gloss) 'Here is the end, some say'. (*Koko ni wa shū setsu ari* 爰 ニ 禾 終 說 アリ).

Variant versions of Prelude for zither and lute

Unlike the practice in respect of other secondary versions in the collectanea of Moronaga, the single-movement alternative in *Ō-dai hajin-raku* is headed *dō jo/tong xu* 同序 (in SGYR) rather than *dō kyoku/tong qu* (p. 9) (as in JCYR). In both manuscripts, the alternative movement bears an important comment, following the heading dō jo or dō kyoku respectively. That in JCYR is the fuller and reads: 'Ōga no Motomasa's version agrees with this' 大神基政説合之 ; in SGYR the comment is: 'This score agrees with that of the Ōga family' 此譜合大神氏之 . Motomasa (1079–1138; see the genealogy of Ōno Tadao, fn. 36, p. 33) was the son of Koresue 惟季 (1026–94), author of the eleventh-century treatise on wind-instruments: *Kaichiku-shō* 懐竹抄 , and a famous flute-player.

A number of glosses are ascribed either to Tokimoto 時元 (1058–1123) of the Toyohara family, or to his son, Tokiaki 時秋 (1098–1179) (see p. 34), both of whom are mentioned in the second colophon to the mouth-organ manuscript, KF/HSFR/RK. The earliest date known for a musician of the Toyohara lineage is that of the death of Ariaki 有秋 in 970

Moronaga's glosses in flute-notation are written in a notational system corresponding to the more recent of Marett's six Systems, namely, I and II — perhaps those of Hakuga's own generation.

Other glosses are ascribed to Horikawa-in 堀川 (more usually 河) 院 . At this period, -in signified *not* the retired emperor but simply 'The Emperor'. The Imperial Palace being under repair, the Emperor Horikawa moved to the palace of his relatives and, in particular, to that of Fujiwara no Morozane 藤原師實 , his maternal grandfather. (His mother was second consort (*chūgū* 中宮) to his father, Shirakawa Tennō 白河天皇 (1042–1101).) This provisional Imperial Palace (*Satodairi* 里内裏) was situated in *Sakyō* 右京 (the Right Division of Heian Kyōto), and here the emperor remained for the duration of his reign, from 1087 until his death in 1107. 'Horikawa-in' added to a variant as source presumably indicates then that this is the practice of the emperor himself and of the noble musicians of the Imperial Palace, during the period 1087–1107.

It will be noted that the dates of Motomasa, Tokimoto, Tokiaki, and the period of the reign of Horikawa overlap. This suggests that, for the alternative jo, Moronaga was drawing, for the most part, on manuscript sources approximately a century earlier than his own time.

If the finals of the drum-periods of the dō-jo are listed in sequence, as was done on p. 21 for the primary version, symmetrical relationships, exhibited by the primary version, are (at first sight) absent:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
secondary:	*d*	(*a*)	*d*	*b*	*a*	*d*	*b*	*d*
primary:	*d*	*d*	*b*	*a*	*d*	*b*	*d*	*a*
	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	a	*d*	*a* or *b*	*g* or *a*	*d*	*a*	*d*	*d*
	d	*a*	*a*	*d*	*a*	*d*	*b*	*d*
	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
	b	*e*	*a*	*d*	*e*	*g* or *c*	*d*	*g* or *b*
	d	*e*	*a*	*d*	*d*	*e*	*c*	*d*
	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)			(29)	(30)
	e	*a*	*e*	*d*			*b*	*d*
	d	*e*	*e*	*d*			*b*	*d*

Dr Wolpert points out, however, that the previously observed sequences of finals persist, to a considerable extent, but have undergone displacement by the interpolation of a new drum-beat period, with final *a*, following the first period (with final *d*). As shown by the following display, if the second period, ending on *a*, is ignored, the sequence of finals is largely the same as in the primary version.

	(1)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
secondary	*d* (*a*)	*d*	*b*	*a*	*d*	*b*	*d*	*a*
primary	*d*	*d*	*b*	*a*	*d*	*b*	*d*	*a*
	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
	d	*a*	*a**	*d*	*a*	*d*	*d*	*b*
	d	*a*	*a*	*d*	*a*	*d*	*b*	*d*
	(18)	(19)	(20)		(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
	e	*a*	*d*		*e*	*c**	*d*	*g* or *b*
	d or *e*	*a*	*d*		*d*	*e*	*c*	*d*
	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)			(29)	(30)
	e	*a*	*e*	*d*			*b*	*d*
	d	*e*	*e*	*d*			*b*	*d*

(29 + 1 = 30 drum-beat periods)

* accepting the gloss

Thus three sequences of four finals (to be observed in the primary version) are reproduced exactly in the 'secondary *Prelude*'; one further sequence is complete, but the order of the last two members is inverted: *a d b d*→*a d d b*; two further sequences are represented by their last three members: *d e a d*→*e a d*, and *d e c d*→*e c d*. One sequence is reduced to two elements only: *d e e d*→*e d*; and the last two periods end on the same final in both versions.

The disappearance of the symmetries exhibited by the primary version may have been the reason for allotting this version to the class of secondary versions. To a considerable extent, the destruction of primary symmetry is due to the insertion of a single drum-beat period ending on *a*, following the first period. The beginning of this inserted period is present in the scores for strings and mouth-organs; but in the former, the beginning is joined to other material, so that the second drum-beat period likewise cadences on *d*. As our full-score shows (p. 43), the mouth-organ parts include the whole of the symmetry-destroying second period, cadencing on *a* and showing a drum-beat on this cadence.

A detailed comparison of primary and secondary versions of the *Prelude* is deferred for a later study. For the present, our account of the secondary version is herewith concluded.

Variant *Prelude*

* Alternatively, and reading in the archaic manner, the zither-part may be realized in the following way:

In this version, alternative glosses not infrequently occur at the same locus in the score, placed to right or to left of the main column of tablature-signs. Position of the gloss is indicated (as before) by adding '(right)' or '(left)' to the acronymic signature of the manuscript, JCYR or SGYR.

1 JCYR (right) 'Tokimoto's version states .'

2 SGYR (right) 'one version states do not pluck this *d* (Tokimoto).'

3 JCYR: ligature supplied.

4 JCYR (right) 'one version states .'

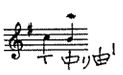
5 SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

6 JCYR (left) ' Tokimoto's version states.'

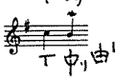
7 SGYR (left) (gloss) ' (Tokimoto)'.

8 Note how mordents on zither match plucked mordents on lute.

9 SGYR (right) (gloss in flute-notation)

[10] SGYR (right) (gloss in flute-notation) 

[11] SGYR (right) (gloss in flute-notation)

[12] SGYR (right) (gloss in flute-notation) 

[13] JCYR: dot supplied, *b′* to *c♯″*, and *f♯′* to *g♯* (before 20).

[14] JCYR: ligature supplied.

[15] SGYR (right) (gloss in flute-notation)

[16] SGYR (left) (Horikawa-in).

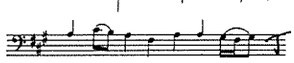
[17] JCYR (left) (Horikawa-in).

18 SGYR (right) (Toki-aki).

19 SGYR (left) (gloss) (Horikawa-in).

20 JCYR (right) (Toki[-aki?]).

21 JCYR (left) (gloss)

22 SGYR (right)  (Tokimoto).

23 SGYR (left) (Horikawa-in).

24 JCYR (left) (gloss)

25 SGYR (right) 'one version states do not pluck this *d* — *d'* (Horikawa-in).'

一説不彈此し也　堀川院

[26] JCYR: ligature supplied.

[27] JCYR, SGYR: 'Present Half-Section' 今 半 帖

[28] JCYR (right) ([Horikawa-]in).

[29] SGYR (right) (Horikawa-in).

[30] JCYR: ligature supplied.

[31] JCYR (right) 'The honourable version of the [Horikawa-] in states, as to this one phrase, do not play it.' SGYR (above) 'The honourable version of the Horikawa-in states, from *e* to *d'*, do not play it. Tokimoto's version states play this.'

[32] JCYR (left) 'Tokimoto's version states play it.'

[33] JCYR (left) 'one version states 火

[34] SGYR (left) (gloss) 火

[35] JCYR: ligature supplied.

[36] JCYR (right) (gloss) ([Horikawa-]in).

[37] SGYR (right) (gloss) (Horikawa-in).

[38] JCYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

[39] SGYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

[40] JCYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

41 JCYR 'Old Half-Section'.

42 SGYR 'Half-Section'.

43 SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

44 JCYR (right) 'one version states do not 火 .'

45 JCYR (right) ([Horikawa-]in).

Very unusually, the gloss carries a finger-technique instruction: 'after pressing' (*nochi osu/hou tui* 後 推), implying (presumably) that string 9 is to be plucked only after previously pressing on the string beyond the movable bridge.

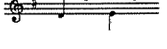
46 SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

The brackets in our score are original. A comment written above Columns 31 and 32 (counting from the first column of the dō jo in SGYR) notes as follows: 'The version(s) of Tokimoto, Tokiaki, state: "From *c*♯′ to *g*♯′, do not play it".'

47 JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

48 SGYR (left) 'one version states .'

49 JCYR (right) 'Tokimoto's version states do not play this phrase.'

50 JCYR (left) 'one version states  .'

51 SGYR (left) ' 百 (Horikawa-in)'.

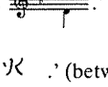
[52] JCYR (left) (gloss)

[53] JCYR (left) (Tokimoto).

[54] SGYR (left) (Tokimoto).

[55] SGYR (right) 'one version states do not 火 .'

[56] SGYR (left) 百 (Horikawa-in) (on mordent).

[57] JCYR (right) 'one version states  .'

[58] SGYR (left) 'one version states 火 .' (between *d'* and mordent)

[59] JCYR (right) 'Tokimoto's version states do not play this phrase.'

[60] SGYR: A comment written in the space above Column 36 notes as follows: 'Tokimoto's version states: From *a b c♯'* to g♯, do not play it.' Presumably '*a b c♯'*' should read: '*a c♯' b'*.

[61] JCYR: ligature supplied.

[62] JCYR (right) ([Horikawa]-in).

[63] SGYR (right) (Horikawa-in).

[64] SGYR (right) (Tokimoto).

[65] JCYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

[66] SGYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

[67] JCYR (right) 'one version states .'

[68] SGYR (right) (gloss) 百

[69] SGYR (left) (Horikawa-in).

[70] SGYR (right) (gloss)

[71] JCYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

[72] JCYR: ligature supplied.

[73] SGYR (left) 百 (Horikawa-in).

BROACHING ha/po 破

KF/HSFR/RK '*Broaching*; first Section, quick. 20 measures; ninth and eleventh measures, 8 kakko/jiegu [beats]. There is *komebyōshi/long pai-zi* 籠 拍子 (= confining measure, basket-measure)'.
破 一 帖 早 . 拍 子 廿 . 弟 九 弟 十 一 八 . 八 羯 鼓 . 有 篭 拍 子

SSSTF '*Broaching*: 20 measures'
破 拍 子 二 十

JCYR '*Broaching*: six-beat [measures]; ninth and eleventh [measures] are eight-beat [measures].'
破 六 拍 子 第 九 第 十 一 八 拍 子

SGYR '*Broaching*: first Section; 7 kakko/jiegu [beats] in initial measure; following this, from the second to the eighth measure, 6 kakko/jiegu [beats]; the ninth measure has 8 kakko/jiegu [beats]; the tenth measure has six kakko/jiegu [beats]; the eleventh measure has eight kakko/jiegu [beats]; following this, from the twelfth to the seventeenth measure, there are six kakko/jiegu [beats to the measure]; at the end, three measures are lengthened (= slowed down) in the *Prelude*-like manner.'

破 一 帖 初 拍 子 鞨 鼓 七 後 第 二 拍 子 至 第 八 拍 子 鞨 鼓 六 第 九 拍 子 鞨 鼓 八 第 十 拍 子 鞨 鼓 六 第 十 一 拍 子 鞨 鼓 八 後 第 十 二 拍 子 至 第 十 七 拍 子 鞨 鼓 六 末 三 拍 子 序 引

In all four manuscripts, kakko/jie-gu beats are marked, save in Sections 5 and 6 and in the *Prelude*-like codas to Sections 1–4. The statement (SGYR) that the first measure has 7 kakko/jiegu beats suggests that the main bass-drum (taiko-) beat is omitted from the count; but the ninth measure is said to have 8 kakko/jiegu beats. To avoid obscuring the score by the insertion of too much detail, kakko/jiegu beats are marked only in the mouth-organ parts, where they clarify the placing of mordents: on the beat in KF/HSFR/RK, between beats in SSSTF. Note also differences in the writing of duplication signs between the two manuscripts. The technical meaning of komebyōshi/long pai-zi (p. 23) is not known. To prevent confusion between kakko-beats and intracolumnary dots, the latter are shown as *hollow* dots in *both* mouth-organ parts in this movement.

Section 1

[1] SGYR (left) (gloss)

[2] Note numeral (九) marking the ninth measure (one of the specified eight-beat measures of the several introductions to this Section); also numeral (八) stating the total number of beats in the ninth and eleventh measures (SSSTF).

[3] JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

[4] JCYR (left) 'one version states

[5] SGYR (left) 'one version states

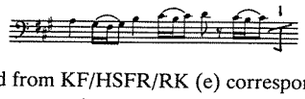
[6] At this point, in all four manuscripts, instructions are inserted indicating a slowing-down and probably a halving of the speed of performance. In KF/HSFR/RK this takes the form of the lexigraph: 序 '*Prelude*', followed by 'following this the mouth-organ "preludes" 後此笙序 ***Kore yori sho no jo.*** In SSSTF, the same tablature-sign is marked 延 ***nobe/yan*** (= lengthen = slow down), and the particular taiko-beat associated with the note in question is bracketed, presumably as a warning that the next three measures (strictly speaking, the next three drum-beats) are to be played at a slower pace. The string-parts make use of similar formulae adapted to their tablatures: (JCYR) (left) 'from this ninth string onwards lengthen in the *Prelude*-manner' 此九絃以下序引 .' (SGYR) (left) 'from this *c*♯' onwards lengthen in the *Prelude*-manner 此ム以下序引.' The kakko/jiegu beat-dots stop at this *c*♯ in the string parts, and at the corresponding corresponding c♮ in SSSTF; but in KF/HSFR/RK they continue (following 序) for a further five beats.

In our view, the last three taiko-beats fall on the *penultimate* beat of three six-beat measures. This is suggested by the variant in fn. 8.

Note that the two notes omitted from KF/HSFR/RK (e) correspond to the two extra notes in the JCYR and SGYR variants, fns 8 and 9.

[7] Note this unique use of marginal solid dots (in JCYR), placed to right of the tablature-signs, apparently as binary markers, and following the instruction to slow down in the *Prelude*-like manner.

[8] JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

[9] SGYR (left) 'one version states  .'

Note that the two notes omitted from KF/HSFR/RK (e) correspond to the two extra notes in the JCYR and SGYR variants.

[10] JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .' 一説无火

Section 2

KF/HSFR/RK 'Second Section, quick. 20 measures'
二 帖早 · 拍 子 廿

SSSTF 'Second Section: 20 measures'
二 帖 拍 子 二 十

JCYR '6-beats [to the measure]'
六 拍 子

SGYR 'Initial measure five kakko/jiegu [beats]; later, from the second to the seventeenth measure, six kakko/jiegu beats [to the measure]; at the end, three measures are to be lengthened (slowed down) in the *Prelude*-like manner.' 初 拍 子 鞨 鼓 五 後 第 二 拍 子 至 第 十 七 拍 子 鞨 鼓 六 末 三 拍 子 序 引
In contrast to the first measure of Section 1, the first measure of Section 2 is of six beats. Discounting the bass-drum beat, the statement that there are five kakko/jiegu beats to the first measure is correct.

[11] JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

[12] SGYR (left) 'one version states .'

[13] JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

[14] JCYR: A dot has been supplied to the tablature-sign for the seventh string, sharpening *f*♯ to *g*♯.

[15] SGYR (left) 'The version of the *Wata*[*-fu*] states: .' The *Wata-fu* was a pocket-score prepared by Minamoto no Yoriyoshi 源 頼 吉 . He flourished in the time of the emperor Gosanjō Tennō 後 三 条 天 皇 who reigned from 1068 to 1072. Since his title was Ō Kemmotsu 王 監 物 , he was commonly known as Ō Yoriyoshi. *Wata* 綿 , a cotton cloth, was a term commonly used in reference to the green-room, where musicians waited before and between performances; and since Ō Yoriyoshi spent so much of his time there, studying his personally written pocket-score, he himself was sometimes referred to as 'Wata' and his pocket-score as *Wata-fu*. We are indebted to Professor Fukushima for this elucidation of an otherwise obscure reference.

[16] JCYR (left) 'from this ninth string (*b* sharpened to *c*♯) onwards, *Prelude*-like slowing down.'

[17] SGYR (left) 'from this *c*♯ onwards, *Prelude*-like slowing down.' Instructions in KF/HSFR/RK and SSSTF as in Section 1.

[18] JCYR (left) 'one version states same as first Section'. 一 说 同 一 帖

[19] Rests in JCYR and SGYR parallel those in the corresponding passage at the end of Section 1.

[20] JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'

In general, see notes relating to the end of Section 1.

Section 3

KF/HSFR/RK — 'Third Section, quick; 20 measures; regarding the tenth and twelfth measures, five kakko/jiegu [beats to the measure].' Note the use of the Japanese particle:
三 帖 早 拍 子 廿. 第 十 第 十 二 八. 五 羯 鼓

SSSTF — '20 measures' 拍 子 二 十 .

JCYR — 'Third Section; six-beat [measures]; the tenth and twelfth [measures] are of five beats.
「The initial measure has five kakko/jiegu [beats]; subsequently, from the second to the ninth measure, six kakko/jiegu [beats]. For the tenth measure, there are five kakko/jiegu [beats]. For the eleventh measure, there are six kakko/jiegu [beats]. For the twelfth measure, there are six kakko/jiegu beats to the measure. At the end, four measures are lengthened in the *Prelude*-like manner. 」'

三 帖 六 拍 子 第 十 第 十 二 五 拍子
「初 拍 子 羯 鼓 五 後 第 二 拍 子 至 第 九 拍 子 羯 鼓 六 第 十 拍 子 羯 鼓 五 第 十 一 拍 子 羯 鼓 六 第 十 二 拍子 羯鼓五 從 第 十 三 拍 子 至 第 十 六 拍 子 羯 鼓 六 末 四 拍 子 序 引」

SGYR — (identical with the second paragraph — 「 」 — of the introduction to Section 3 in JCYR)

[21] The statement in the second paragraph of the preface in JCYR, and in the preface to SGYR, that the initial measure (初 拍 子) has five kakko/jiegu beats is not borne out by any one of the four manuscripts. It is unlikely that this statement is to be understood as 5 (kakko/jiegu) + 1 (taiko) beats, since the manuscripts all specify (in one way or another) the presence of other measures of five beats that include the taiko-beat. The statement remains inexplicable, since none of the four manuscripts shows anything other than a six-beat first measure; nor does the music itself suggest any ambiguity compatible with a five-beat reading.

[22] Note discrepancies between the two mouth-organ parts, and between both of these and the strings, in measure 7.

[23] In the light of archaic binary-markers (—) in the lute-part, we suggest that the anomalous measures of five beats arose when copyists no longer understood the binary-marker function of ichi, and therefore failed to mark a lengthened fifth note (either a single note or a mordent) in the ninth and eleventh measures. The tenth measure becomes a normal six-beat measure by taking over one beat from the previous measure. The twelfth measure becomes normal by the same procedure. A single kakko/jiegu beat has been restored to the zither-part in measure 9 in the light of the ichi (—) at the end of this measure in the lute-part, and respecting also the binary-marker function of intracolumnary dots in the mouth-organ parts. Note that KF/HSFR/RK numbers the *measures* that are specified as of five beats in the prefaces, while SSSTF inserts the numbers of *beats* (five) beside the taiko-beat in question.

[24] One kakko/jiegu beat has been restored to the zither-part to match the lengthened *b* in the lute-part, itself determined by the binary-marker function of an ichi following the *b*. In KF/HSFR/RK, the *b* is lengthened in the light of the placing of intracolumnary dots. In SSSTF, a first dot within the measure is misplaced.

[25] JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

[26] SGYR (left) (gloss) *c*♯'.

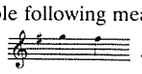
[27] JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

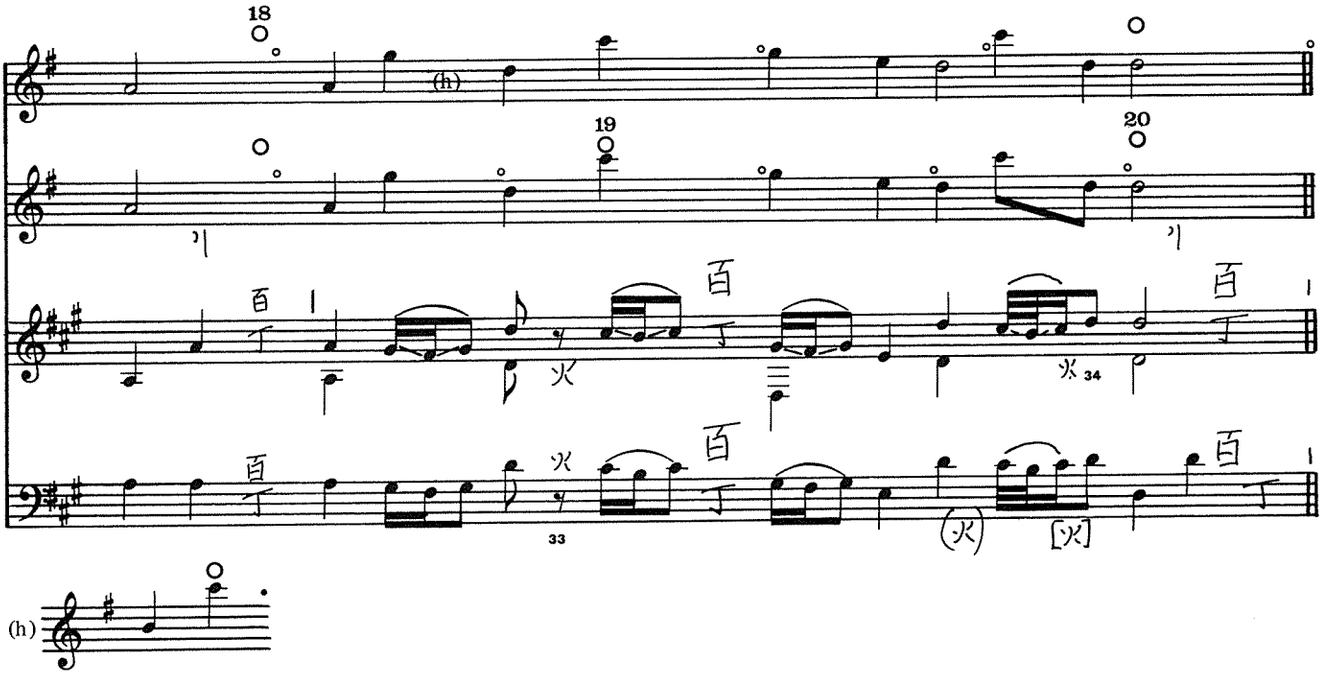
[28] SGYR (left) 'one version states *c*♯'.'

[29] SGYR (left) 'one version states there is this kakko-beat [here] 一説有此鞨鼓.'

[30] JCYR (left) 'from this ninth string (mordent on *c*♯') onwards *Prelude*-like lengthening.'

[31] SGYR (right) 'from this *c*♯' onwards *Prelude*-like lengthening.'

[32] No kakko/jiegu dots from here onwards in string-parts, or in SSSTF; but these continue over eight more notes in KF/HSFR/RK. Note discrepancies, between KF/HSFR/RK and the rest, in measure 14. Further discrepancies are visible following measure 16. A gloss in flute-tablature in SSSTF (g): 上 五 ㇀ displays acquaintance with the version shown in KF/HSFR/RK.  .



Section 4

KF/HSFR/RK 'Fourth Section, quick; 20 beats (= measures)'
四 帖 早 拍 子 卄

SSSTF 'Fourth Section; 20 beats (= measures)'
四 帖 拍 子 二 十

JCYR 'Six beats [to the measure]'
六 拍 子

SGYR 'Initial measure, five kakko/jiegu [beats]; following this, from the second to the sixteenth measure, six kakko/jiegu [beats] to the measure; at the end, four measures are lengthened in the *Prelude*-like manner.' 初 拍 子 鞨 鼓 五 後 第 二 拍 子 至 第 十 六 拍 子 鞨 鼓 六 末 四 拍 子 序 引

[33] SGYR (right) 'one version states ignore this 火 .'

[34] JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'

[35] Sharpening dots have been supplied, raising *f*♯' to *g*♯'.

[36] SGYR (left) 'one version states .' This gloss is accompanied by a further gloss (right) in flute-tablature and, moreover, in archaic flute-tablature, showing a mordent, evidently to be executed on the preceding note, and a terminal ichi as binary marker: 六由中'.

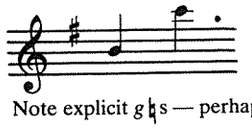
Clearly, Moronaga here calls on a flute-manuscript, written in the style of the tenth century, as justification for a variant (with mordent) in the lute-part, matching the mordent preserved in the zither-manuscript(s).

[37] JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

[38] SGYR (left) 'one version states .'

[39] SGYR (left) 'one version states .' Note in this measure (9) the discrepancy between KF/HSFR/RK and the rest, the earlier mouth-organ part preserving (presumably) an original, metrically simpler, version.

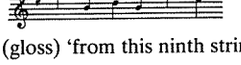
[40] This discrepant *e*″ may have arisen from a misreading of 乞 (*a*′) as 乚 (*e*″).

(i) 

41 Note explicit *g*♮s — perhaps a relic of a mixolydian version for lute.

42 SGYR (left) 'one version states .'

43 From here onwards, kakko/jiegu dots cease in string-parts and in SSSTF.

44 SSSTF (gloss) 

45 JCYR (right) (gloss) 'from this ninth string onwards *Prelude*-like lengthening.'

46 SGYR (right) (gloss) 'from this *b* onwards *Prelude*-like lengthening .'

47 SGYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'

48 JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'

49 SGYR (right) 'one version states ignore this *d*′.'

Section 5

KF/HSFR/RK 'Fifth Section, play in *Prelude*-like manner; 20 beats.'
五 帖 序 吹 拍 子 廿

SSSTF 'Fifth Section, play in *prelude*-like manner; but do not make a space between the fifth and sixth Sections. Play them consecutively.'
五 帖 序 吹 但 五 六 帖 間 不 置 裎 (=程)。 連 吹 之

JCYR '*Prelude*-like lengthened fifth Section.'
序 引 五 帖

SGYR 'The fifth Section is to be lengthened in the *Prelude*-like manner; but pluck (= play) it quickening. The sixth Section likewise.'
五 帖 序 引 也 但 速 彈 之 六 帖 同

For a discussion of these instructions and their implications, see p. 25.

An upper-margin gloss in SGYR reveals uncertainty, during the eleventh century, as to the primary unity of the *Broaching*. The gloss in question heads the beginning of Section 5.

> 'Tokiaki (1098–1179) used to say that the Ō-dai of the late Tokimoto (his father: 1058–1123) took [from the beginning,] up to the end of the fourth Section, from the version of the Lord Dainagon Munetoshi (Fujiwara no Munetoshi 1046–97), and the two Sections 5 and 6, from the version of Tobe no Masakiyo (1049–1119)[1]. Therefore [his Ō-dai] inherited [Sections] from different pieces [= versions]; and so on and so forth.'
> 時 秋 日 故 時 元 皇 帝 四 帖 以 上 者 受 大 納 言 殿 宗 俊 説 五 六 両 帖 者 受 户 部 正 清 説 是 相 傳 他 曲 云 云
>
> This translation incorporates the views of at least six different Japanese scholars whose help has been sought. Nevertheless, the reading of the last phrase (beginning *kore* 是) remains tentative, since 'piece' (*kyoku* 曲) can only stand for 'version' (*setsu* 説) if the writer's use of the language is exceptionally loose.

[1] of the *Nanto-kata* 南 都 方 (namely, Nara); a family renowned as percussionists — taiko, shōko — and as dancers.

[50] JCYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'
[51] JCYR (left) (gloss) 火
[52] SGYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'
[53] JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'
[54] JCYR (left) (gloss) 火
[55] SGYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

[56] JCYR (right) 'one version states .'

[57] JCYR (left) (gloss) 火

[58] JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'

[59] JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .' This version has been accepted for both string-parts, since it matches the mensural version of both mouth-organ parts.

[60] SGYR (right) (gloss in flute-tablature)

[61] JCYR (left) (gloss) 火 — perhaps (in view of SSSTF) to be ignored, together with the 火 shown in SGYR.

[62] JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'

[63] JCYR (left) (gloss) 火

Section 6

KF/HSFR/RK 'Sixth Section, play in the *Prelude*-like manner; 20 beats.'

六 怗 序 吹 拍 子 廿

SSSTF 'Sixth Section; 20 beats. *Prelude*-like lengthen.'

六 怗 拍 子 二 十 序 引

JCYR '*Prelude*-like lengthened sixth Section: Do not make a space between the fifth and the sixth Sections. Play them consecutively; but play the end of Section 6 very quickly.'

序 引 六 怗 五 六 两 怗 不 置 程 連 彈 之 但 六 怗 末 殊 連 彈

SGYR 'Sixth Section: Do not make a space between the two Sections 5 and 6. Play them consecutively; but play the end of Section 6 very quickly.'

六 怗 五 六 兩 怗 不 置 程 連 彈 之 但 六 怗 末 殊 連 彈

(k)

64 JCYR (right) 'one version states .'

65 SGYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

66 JCYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

67 JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'

68 JCYR (left) (gloss) 火

(l) (m) (n)

69 SGYR (left) 'one version states .'

70 JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

71 JCYR (left) 'one version states .'

72 SGYR (left) 'one version states .'

73 JCYR (right) 'one version states ignore 火 .'

74 JCYR (left) (gloss) 火

75 JCYR (right) 'one version states .'

76 SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

77 JCYR (left) (gloss) 火

78 SGYR (left) 'one version states 火 .'

79 The use of this sign: 上 — from flute-tablature — may indicate transcription from a flute-score at some stage.

80 JCYR (left) 'one version states .' The figure decorating the second crotchet ignores, as transcribed, an initial *f♯''* impossible of execution in a standard, single-stroke glissando.

81 SGYR (left) 'one version states .'

82 SGYR (right) 'one version states .'

83 JCYR (left) (gloss) 火

At the end of this first fascicle, we wish to stress that much more information regarding choreography, performance, personages, traditions, etc., etc., remains to be extracted from *Ryūmeishō* and *Kyōkunshō*. Furthermore, while prefaces and annotations in our manuscripts have been considered in some detail, those in the manuscripts of the *Ruisō chiyō* — of which several survive in the Library of Geijutsu University — have been drawn on to a limited extent only.* The full utilization of all these materials belongs to the future.

It is hoped that a second fascicle of *Music from the Tang Court* may include two further suites in the *Ichikotsu-chō* mode-key group (mixolydian on D), namely, *Toraden* ('The Whirl-Around'), which probably originated in the early eighth century, and *Shunnō-den* ('The Singing of Spring Orioles'), a ballet-suite believed to have its source in a late seventh-century piece in imitation of the Golden Oriole (*Cettia diphones cantans*) – a bushwarbler with a nightingale-like song. In addition, and continuing the study of this present fascicle, it is hoped to include a justified conflated text of *Ō-dai hajin-raku* on a single stave, in the light of which a version for performance can be established.

* Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Library お 152: Ruisō chiyō (Microfiche in University Library, Cambridge).

來自唐朝的音樂

During the two centuries before 841, the Japanese Court borrowed a large amount of secular entertainment music from China, chiefly music of the Sui and Tang Courts. This music, known as 'Tang Music' (*Tō-gaku*), is preserved in manuscripts written between the eighth and thirteenth centuries and to be seen today in the library of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo and in other Japanese libraries.

In the twelve hundred years since this music was brought to Japan, Japanese performance-traditions have diverged very considerably from the originals. This edition represents a first attempt to reproduce the music as it survives in the earliest manuscripts, written in some instances before the end of the Tang dynasty. It is a transcription of one suite, in three movements, entitled 'The Emperor Destroys the Military Formations'. The military ballet for which it was composed was probably danced – by 120 performers – before the Emperor Minghuang in 713. The edition is prefaced by a forty-page introduction setting out the historical background, and problems of transcription.

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